

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

THE week has not been a lively one in the Senate, that body having been busy in discussing railroad affairs, and having brought to a conclusion nothing of importance. It looks as if the Air-line Bill, which provides for a government road between this city and Washington, would pass. It is opposed by some senators who doubt the constitutionality of such an exercise of Congressional power over States, and also by some others. Mr. Pomeroy, Mr. Harlan, and the rest having, however, denounced the newspapers for some late talk about railroad "rings" in Washington, only the constitutional objections need be mentioned. But for that matter it seems pretty clear that a majority in the Senate have no doubt of the constitutional right of Congress to override, if necessary, the will of the States in this particular. The bill giving relief to the central branch of the Union Pacific, which asks for \$2,400,000 more, is pushed by a powerful lobby, and seems to command the assent of honorable senators; Mr. Sumner and Mr. Fessenden announce their intention of voting for it. But, on the other hand, Mr. Conkling, who is rapidly becoming a senator of weight, promises to make good a pretty long list of accusations against the company, and opposes it strongly. Mr. Frelinghuysen proposes to show that his State, New Jersey—which makes the railroad companies pay it so much a head for every passenger they carry through, which tax the companies, of course, collect of the passengers—is defensible for this part of her railroad legislation; Mr. Morton pushes his bill for the removal of the capitation tax. On Saturday the joint resolution was agreed to that all civil officers in Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, who cannot take the test oath, shall be removed at the expiration of thirty days, and their places shall be filled by appointees of the military commanders.

On Monday the Judiciary Committee reported that Mr. Joshua Hill, of Georgia, is not entitled to a seat in the Senate. What may be the opinion of the majority of the committee on the general question of Congressional power of interference with the refractory Georgia Legislature cannot be gathered from this report. Mr. Trumbull sent in a minority report maintaining, so far as we can tell by the telegraphed synopsis, that Georgia is reconstructed according to the prescribed forms, and denying the right of the Senate to traverse the united action of House and Senate. This is what the Senate would do, he maintains, if it were to go behind the act admitting the State. Then, too, Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Conkling, both good lawyers, although they do not sign the minority report, yet assent to only the "conclusion" of the majority report, and the conclusion is merely a recom-

mendation that Mr. Hill be not admitted. On the same day a petition was presented by the President of the Senate, who had received it from Mrs. Lincoln. Why he read it instead of taking the responsibility of withholding it, and informing her that a bill, sure to pass, granting her a pension is already introduced into the Senate, we do not know. He read it, however. Mrs. Lincoln is too poor, she says, to live in Germany, as her physicians advise her, in a manner befitting the widow of the magistrate of a great nation. She is ordered to winter in Italy, she says. That she cannot afford to do, although she lives as economically as she can. The petition appears to be of her own writing. It would seem that she has no advisers, or not the best. Mr. Edmunds introduced, on the same day, a bill amending the Tenure-of-Office Act, and giving to the President power to remove or suspend his Cabinet officers during recesses of the Senate, and to suspend other civil officers during such periods, without giving specific reasons therefor. To this bill there appears to be no objection.

On Tuesday, Mr. Schenck introduced in the House a bill defining the mode of paying the interest on the national debt—in gold coin, namely. On the same day Mr. Farnsworth brought in a bill in two sections, one of which ordains that nothing shall pass as franked matter unless the franking member himself writes his name. This passed, but the other section, forbidding the receipt of free matter by persons invested with the franking privilege, was lost. Mr. Washburne wished to have all franking abolished, but that was too much for the House. Yet the British Parliament contrives to do without it, and the English post-office is not a department constantly in arrears either. On Thursday, Mr. Shanks introduced a wild bill, to the effect that all national Government offices should be divided among the several Congressional districts and organized Territories, in accordance with the population of each. Mr. Shanks said nothing about the fitness of the man for his place; but he holds the Buckle theory, apparently, that within a given space as many fit men can be found as can be got in any space of equal size and equal density of population. But the Buckle Providence becomes entirely unreliable in regions where they "gerrymander" the Congressional districts—and in Mr. Shanks's own State they are not bad hands at that, as he knows. On Saturday, Mr. Boutwell made a speech on his suffrage amendment, which cannot pass, and on a bill which he would therefore have passed as a substitute. On Monday, Mr. Paine, of the Reconstruction Committee, tried to bring up the case of Georgia, but it is a business that representatives are evidently in some doubt about, though it will have to come sooner or later in this session. The House seems disinclined to touch the telegraphs. Members think, if the correspondents tell the truth, that it would be dangerous to entrust any political party with such a power as the control of the telegraphic system of the country. Mr. Orton, of the Western Union, could probably give a better reason for the hesitancy. It does not seem to occur to these gentlemen that in more than one country of the world the servants of the government are superior to party hopes and fears, and that they might be so here.

A most amusing controversy between the New York *Tribune* and a Kansas correspondent about the Indians appeared in the columns of that journal last week, in which the correspondent not only attempts to get at the root of the Indian difficulty, as a Western man sees it, but displays very well the mode in which a good deal of political reasoning is done by the general public. He asks the *Tribune* whether "if a company of white men should band together, refuse to work, go naked, and roam over the plains," they might "rely on the favorable

influence of the *Tribune* in getting their subsistence from the Government?" to which the *Tribune* replies, frankly, that they could not; but then, though it goes on to say some very comical and pertinent things, hardly settles the question for the pioneer mind. The pioneer judges the Indian by the white standard of morality and propriety, a process which, though on its surface fair enough, is the cause of nearly all the tyranny, cruelty, and injustice in the world. It is impossible, and always will be impossible, to get the pioneer to change his views of the Indian's mode of dressing himself and getting his living; and yet the Indian policy of the Government seems to be based on the idea that it is possible, and accordingly, instead of trying to get the Indian to accommodate himself to the pioneer's standard, which would not be very difficult, we have gone on trying to get the pioneer to "accept" the Indian as an accomplished fact, and to regard him as an ethnological peculiarity, and not as a dirty, lazy loafer and vagabond; which is simply out of the question. It is what is best and most valuable in the pioneer which prevents him from respecting the Indian, and what is worst in the Indian which prevents him from making himself agreeable to the pioneer. But we have acted as if one was as good as the other, and our business was simply to keep them from fighting and make up to the Indian in alms what he lost in game by the advance of population. It is high time the farce came to an end, and that we informed the Indian in plain, even if figurative, language, that he will have to work for his subsistence and live within easy reach of the sheriff, and arrange his difficulties with that functionary and not with the Government at Washington. There is no more excuse for keeping the peace on the plains by "treaty" and the distribution of old clothes, than keeping it in this way in the Sixth Ward of this city.

Senator Yates, of Illinois, has introduced a bill doing away with "the probationary feature" of the present naturalization act and giving every immigrant a vote as soon as he gets ashore. The arguments in favor of this probationary feature are familiar to everybody. Considering that on landing he finds a government in full operation, with an immense stock of accumulated power at its disposal, created by the courage, industry, and self-denial of past generations, as well as of the actual citizens of the country, it has not been thought unreasonable that the newcomer should, before taking part in wielding this power, afford some proof of his intention to make a *bona-fide* change of residence. Continued residence in the country for five years is very properly set down as the best and only proof of this that an unknown man can give. Moreover, in view of what is actually known of the mental, moral, and political training of the great body of European emigrants, it is believed that five years is not too long a period to allow them to make themselves acquainted with the laws and institutions under which they are to live, and which they are to help to administer, with the language in which the political and legal proceedings are conducted, and with the manners of the society into which they are to be absorbed. What happens when this probation is evaded through fraud, or through peculiar circumstances does not produce its proper effects, is well illustrated in this city, where at every election hordes of emigrants are driven to the polls with as little understanding of what they are doing, and as little appreciation of its responsibilities or consequences, as if they were cattle.

Senator Yates's mode of meeting and disposing of these arguments furnishes a good illustration of the muddled state of mind into which the habit of using high-sounding phrases and gorgeous general ideas to solve great political problems has reduced many of our politicians, and particularly Republican politicians. The principle of his bill, he says, in a letter to a friend in Springfield, Illinois, is this: "That the probationary feature of the present law was born of fear, and the false idea that the measure of men's rights is a certain standard of intelligence, that we must arrogate to ourselves certain peculiar privileges on account of birth. I am opposed to all such ideas. Manhood is the magic word which opens the door to all progress, all excellence, all privileges." Now, all laws "are born of fear;" judicial and official oaths are born of fear; jails owe their existence to fear, and so do all magistrates and rulers—the fear, namely, which experience justifies,

that all men will not do right, or will exercise their rights in such a manner as to injure other people, unless society restrains them. The assertion that "manhood is the magic word," etc., as applied to the measure before us, is simply nonsense. Mr. Yates might as well say that "manhood was the magic word that opened the door" to mathematics, architecture, real estate, railroad stock, steamboats, fashionable churches, and cranberry farms. We doubt very much whether Mr. Yates himself had more than a faint glimmering of what he meant when he said this, and that he had no glimmering at all, his friends are bound to hope. He then declares that he would, under his bill, meet the emigrant on his landing with the following address:

"You have abandoned the home of your youth, the graves of your sires, the associations of a lifetime, to join the grand army of this progressive Government. Welcome! The same Creator who gave us this fair land sent you, though a little later than our fathers came, to the Western wilderness, to join us in the great march to glory and renown."

Most emigrants, on hearing this discourse, would either button up their pockets or make preparations to join the senator on a spree. It has no more bearing on the "probationary feature" than on the resumption of specie payments. Such an address would do no more to prepare the emigrant for his new duties and responsibilities than an invitation from the quarantine officer "to meet him by moonlight alone," or "come to his bosom" in the character of a "stricken deer." The whole performance deserves attention, we repeat, as an illustration of the state of mind in which many of our legislators approach some of the most serious questions of the day.

A good example of the way the tariff works is afforded by the contest which is now going on in Congress between the Lake Superior miners of copper and the Atlantic shore smelters of copper. The Lake Superior miners produce pure copper, but say they are starving, and ask for an increase of the duty, which Congress is disposed to grant; in fact, has just granted. But here come the Atlantic smelters, who say that any increase of duty will be ruinous to them; that they, too, are American laborers, and carry on a respectable and useful national business; that they smelt the sulphuret ores, which are the only copper ores of the United States; but to do this profitably they have to use in the process an admixture of carbonate ores, which they import from South America, and that they can with this assistance and the use of economy and hard work produce copper from native sulphurets more cheaply than the Lake Superior miners can extract the pure copper from the quartz, and have, therefore, just as much right to Government encouragement as anybody else. They show, moreover, that while Lake Superior only produces nine millions of the twenty-four million pounds of copper the country requires, the smelters with their sulphurets and carbonates produce the remaining fifteen millions. To all of this Congress makes no reply; offers no statement as to the comparative value of the Lake Superior copper mines to the country, as to the relative numbers of men engaged in mining and smelting, or as to the importance of the price of copper to other branches of the national industry. It simply says that copper mining, as at present conducted in the Lake Superior region, does not pay, and on goes the tax without other argument or exposition. Our advice to the smelters now is, to go to Washington, engage a good strong lobby, and not give up the struggle till they get the carbonates in free of duty. Then it will be the turn of the Lake Superior men to try their luck again, and so on. What is most remarkable about this struggle is that it is really between two branches of native industry.

The conference on the Greco-Turkish difficulty has met and arranged the matter very much in the manner mentioned by us last week—that is, Greece is to stop sending volunteers to Crete and making raids into Thessaly, while Turkey is to withdraw her "ultimatum." Turkey has already accepted, but there is a newspaper report that Greece refuses. All fear of hostilities has not yet vanished from Europe, but there is plenty of evidence that it is very much diminished. The great difficulty of forecasting the political future in Europe is due to the fact that in two of the great continental states—France and Russia—the power of fighting or not fighting is practically confined to the monarch,



and therefore personal whims, caprices, and ambition play a large part in setting armies in motion, and the political speculator is compelled to treat a large portion of his problem with mere conjecture. But supposing France and Russia to be under the influence, just now, of the ordinary political considerations, there does not seem the least likelihood of war. The *Economist*, perhaps the calmest and most perspicacious of the English papers, finds cause for uneasiness in what it considers the striking similarity between the diplomatic uneasiness which it perceives on the Continent now and that which preceded the Russo-Turkish war in 1853. But this latter outbreak was preceded by formal demonstrations of hostility to Turkey on the part of Russia, such as the presentation of insulting demands by her ambassador at Constantinople, and the occupation of the Principalities as "a material guarantee," and the revelation by Sir Hamilton Seymour of a long-standing design on the part of the Czar to force on a rupture with Turkey at the earliest possible moment. Nicholas, moreover, approached more nearly to the Asiatic type of monarch than any now to be seen in Europe.

In a country in which the machinery of popular agitation does not exist, the press being bridled, and the right of meeting for discussion surrounded with difficulties even if the people had the habit of exercising it, "the signs of the times" are almost always what more advanced political communities call trifles. This is particularly true of France. One has to get at the drift of popular feeling literally by watching feathers and straws. Small incidents, that in America or England might furnish material for a newspaper paragraph, are in Paris grave political events, and have to be treated as such by anybody who occupies himself with contemporary French history. For instance, it is a serious matter that some twenty-seven pictures, taken from the gallery of the Louvre, and therefore the property of the nation, should have been burnt up in Madame de Troplong's apartments, and that the outcry about this should bring out the fact that other pictures from the same collection have been adorning the walls of the Cercle Impérial, a club of which the members are mainly devoted adherents of the Emperor; and that when the late M. de Morny went to Russia as ambassador he took a good supply of the same pictures with him to hang in the salons of the embassy. Frenchmen will stand a good deal of what we consider oppression, but the treatment of public property as if it were the private property of the reigning house is something they are awfully sensitive about; so that, though the Government is not afraid to refuse to permit the prosecution of the most insignificant functionary for the most outrageous abuses of power, it is carrying the outlying pictures back to the Louvre with great haste and making very lame apologies for their abstraction.

Another event, and it is to be hoped more significant one, has occurred to disturb the repose of the Government at Toulouse, where Baron Séguier, the Procureur-Impérial, or district attorney, has sent in his resignation, and, more horrible still in French official eyes, has published the letter in the newspapers, because the Minister of Justice urged on him, in overbearing language, a more vigorous prosecution of the offences of the newspapers than his own judgment dictated, and employed spies to report on his official conduct. The Baron says that if he cannot serve the Emperor "with moderation and dignity," he will not serve him at all. Baron Séguier belongs to what used to be called the "noblesse de robe;" that is, belongs to a kind of family found rarely anywhere out of France, the men of which have for many generations filled high legal offices. A fresh lustre has been added to his resignation by its bringing to mind once more a famous phrase of an ancestor of his, a judge, who, when an attempt was made by the crown to bully him into giving a judgment to suit it, replied: "La cour rend des arrêts, et non des services"—the court renders judgments, not services. This affair has brought M. Baroche in for a share of the odium which overpowered his successor, M. Pinard. The writer of the late description of the Dutch Admiral Verhuel, the Emperor's reputed father, in the *Diable à Quatre*, goes to jail for four months and pays \$600 fine, and the publisher and printer are also condemned, but to lighter penalties. The admiral seems likely to become as delicate a subject in Parisian circles as Captain Kidd in the Fifth Massachu-

setts District. Baron Séguier's example has been followed by M. Turquette, the Procureur-Impérial at Varins.

The decision of the Spaniards as to the form of government they will adopt being considered nearly settled by the vote on the election of the Constitutional Cortes, the Provisional Government is said to be at last looking about for a candidate, and the Duke of Aosta, Victor Emanuel's second son, is more talked of than he has yet been. He has everything to recommend him. He is a Catholic, but not a Papist; inherits his father's and grandfather's respect for constitutional government; has the sober, brave, austere type of character which has made Piedmont the seed of the new Italy, and has served with distinction on the battle-field. But the Italian ministry seems to be dead against his occupying a foreign crown, and will probably advise the King in this sense. At least this is the conclusion generally drawn from an article in the ministerial organ, the *Nazione*, strongly arguing against the scheme in advance. The duke's withdrawal would leave the Spaniards in a position of continued and increasing difficulty, as it brings the Duke of Montpensier, a Bourbon, and otherwise objectionable, into prominence and activity. The republican manifesto issued immediately before the election has reached us, and is full of good political sense and moderation. We doubt very much whether anything quarter as good was ever produced by any of the foreigners who have undertaken to give the Spaniards advice; and it ought to satisfy those counsellors that the cause of republicanism in Spain may safely be left in the hands of the Spanish republicans themselves. One of the former, Victor Hugo, we observe, writing to a Greek friend in reference to Crete, says: "Crete asks of me what Spain asked of me. Alas! I can only sigh. *I have done so before, yet I shall do it again.* You may reckon on me." As long as this sort of stuff passes among radicals for wisdom, radicals may rely on it they will never rule the world. The world has always been, is now, and ever will be ruled by brains, and the fight between progress and conservatism is to decide not whether sloppy sentimentality or selfish tyranny shall get the upper hand, but what order of ideas brains shall serve. The reason why the whiskey ring is so powerful among us is, that they have applied brains to the business of stealing and swindling, and good people have opposed to them nothing but rhetoric.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* gives some interesting statistics with regard to the composition of the new House of Commons, which enable us, perhaps better than anything else, to appreciate the result of the late election. It appears that the House actually contains 45 eldest sons of peers, who, of course, represent their fathers rather than anybody else. Add to these the younger sons and nephews, brothers and sons-in-law of peers, the baronets and heirs of baronetcies, and we find that one-half the House is made up of members of the aristocracy in the strict sense of the word. There are about 120 "business men," properly so called, including bankers, and 121 railroad directors; while the professional men, including two professors, number only a little over fifty; in fact, there are fewer of this last class in the new Parliament than there were in the old one. To crown all, the commercial and professional men are mostly nearly fifty years old or older—the only young men in the House being found amongst the aristocracy. We may safely infer from all this that it is not the present Parliament, at all events, that is going to tear up the constitution by the roots and plant the cabbages of the future in its stead. But then, as our English correspondent pointed out a fortnight ago, there are plenty of reasons for believing that no such House of Commons will be returned again, and that during the next few years the unchained democracy will find out its strength, and learn to use it. One of the signs that the upper classes do not feel easy is the articles in the *Times* and *Standard* maintaining the general devotion of the English public to primogeniture and aristocracy. As the *Spectator* well points out, this is plainly the whistling of timid people in the dark. The *Pall Mall Gazette* says "prudence ought to suggest to those who are deeply interested in keeping things as they are, the wisdom of letting the subject alone," and maintains that "it is not well to challenge too loudly an investigation of the question, whether 'America, for the bulk of the people, is on the whole a better place to live in than this country?'"

## THE REMAINING WORK OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

MR. BOUTWELL, the other day in the House, in advocating the suffrage amendment to the Constitution, spoke of its adoption, if we may judge from the brief report of his speech in the morning papers, as if it would prove the consummation of the labors of the Republican party, the completion of the work it has undertaken, and a full discharge of the responsibility the party has assumed towards the nation. This impression is not so prevalent now as it was two years ago, but still it is prevalent enough to make it desirable that it should be corrected. It is quite true that the Republican party was formed for the express purpose of preventing the extension of slavery; that in the legitimate prosecution of its task it was forced to defend the very existence of the Government; and that, in defending the existence of the Government, it became, partly through the necessities of its position, and partly through the legitimate and natural development of the idea to which the party owed its origin, the foe of political discriminations based on race or color or creed. Its career, in fact, has been marked by great continuity and consistency. It was forced into fighting the South by its hostility to slavery; into emancipating the blacks by its fighting the South; into providing guarantees for the civil rights of the freedmen by the emancipation of the blacks. It has given them the suffrage under the influence of the same mixed motives which impelled it to give them their freedom—that is, expediency and a sense of abstract justice. It now feels itself, in view of the proofs which have been afforded during the past year of the frailty of the tenure by which the blacks hold their rights under the Reconstruction Act, obliged to provide a still stronger guarantee for those rights in the shape of a constitutional amendment applying the same rule to all the States of the Union.

Now, nothing could be more unfortunate than for the party leaders to get it into their heads, or to preach, that the passage of this amendment, or of any similar measure, is either the sole or even the chief work which remains for it to do; and yet we are led to fear from Mr. Boutwell's speech that some such opinion still lingers, at least in the Radical wing of it. The amendment now before Congress proposes to deal with an abuse, and an abuse which nobody seriously defends; but then it proposes to deal with it by withdrawing from the States a power which, rightly or wrongly, they have hitherto supposed to be essential to their dignity and safety, and the surrender of which for the benefit of a despised and distrusted race will naturally only be effected by the conquest of a host of deeply-rooted prejudices. To give up the right of regulating the suffrage will be very hard, as we know, with a very large proportion of the States; to give it up simply as a mode of admitting the negro to the suffrage in the North as well as in the South, will be harder still. The party, therefore, which proposes such a measure needs to draw on every source of influence for its support. There is no form of aid it can afford to reject, and no mistake it can afford to commit. We do not say that the errors of the Republican party can make political discriminations based on color a permanent feature of American polity; they are sure to disappear before long; but we presume their deadliest foe will admit that it makes a great difference whether they disappear next year, or after ten years or twenty years.

Though, therefore, the final removal, at least from the Federal Constitution, of all trace of the color distinctions between citizens, is a part of the work which still remains for the Republican party to do, and a legitimate consequence of the work it has already done, to treat it as the principal part, or the only important part, or to rely on the reputation or past services of the party for its accomplishment, is not only to endanger its success, but to endanger the very existence of the party itself. In the first place, those who talk so much about "the great party which has saved the nation," or rely on popular gratitude to "the great party" to cover up its defects and shortcomings, seem to labor under a strange delusion as to the nature of political parties and the nature of popular gratitude. However useful or convenient it may be, about election time, to talk of a party as a person or an army with banners, to base a policy on any such fictions would be the height of folly. A party is really a mere abstraction, an agreement of a great number of people in certain opinions; the administration, or the ma-

jority in Congress, are simply a certain number of men chosen to embody these opinions in legislation. When the great number of people cease to agree, the power passes to other agents for other purposes. But the party has never existed as a person or determinate body of persons, and therefore never becomes the object of popular gratitude, even if popular gratitude were ever lavished on large bodies of persons. When we talk of the Republican party as worthy of admiration or respect, we merely mean that the agreement of a large number of people in various parts of the country on a certain day to have certain measures enacted by Congress was a very gratifying circumstance. But nobody feels "grateful" to the Republican party, or thinks of feeling grateful to it, any more than to civilization, or the mariner's compass, or the art of printing. Attempts to personify it, and excite love for it, may pass as rhetoric; as premises in a serious political discussion they are the merest twaddle. The public recognize the real state of the case perfectly. When the question of retaining certain officers in power comes up, the voters—the sensible voters, at any rate, who decide the fate of parties by going from one side to the other as their support is deserved—may allow themselves to be influenced by affection for particular men, but would laugh if you appealed to their "love of the party." What guides them in voting is not the consideration of what the party has done in the past, but the inferences they draw from what its agents have done in the past as to what they are likely to do in the future. In this method of judging, "gratitude," we need hardly say, has no place; for gratitude is simply a sense of obligation for favors received, and if it looks to the future at all ceases to be gratitude. The one condition on which party agents hold power is the constant display of fitness, or what seems to be fitness, for it.

The Republican party, besides putting down the rebellion and abolishing slavery, has called into existence an enormous army, created an immense debt, and covered the country with the great network of functionaries known as the civil service. Its continued possession of power after the war, therefore, logically imposed on it—besides the duty of securing the freedmen in the enjoyment of their newly acquired rights—the duty of reducing the army, providing for the punctual and faithful payment of the public obligations, the proper and scientific distribution of taxation, and the decent, honest collection of the revenue. These duties are all so important that the neglect of no one of them can be atoned for by extra zeal in the discharge of the others. Energy in supporting the black man's rights will not compensate for indifference to the national credit; and the prompt payment of the public debts will not satisfy people, if a quarter of the money raised for the purpose is stolen, and every United States officer continues to pass, in the eyes of the world, as a presumptive knave. The army has been reduced; but the debt is not paid, nor has any distinct provision been made for its payment. Three years have elapsed since the war, and the party has fixed on no financial policy. It has not made up its mind when or how it will redeem its legal-tender notes, or even whether it ought to redeem them at all, and it allows some of its prominent members to go about not only preaching the non-redemption of these notes, but advising employment of them in paying the Government bonds. It talks in very fine language about keeping "the national faith inviolate," but has carefully avoided pledging itself in distinct terms to the payment of the debt in gold; and though Mr. Edmunds has for months been trying to get it to declare its mind distinctly on this subject by resolution, it shrinks from the resolution, and, on one pretext or another, puts off passing it from week to week. Nay, the majority of the members of the party in the House joined Butler in trying to break faith with the public creditors by taxing the interest on the bonds, and no punishment was inflicted on the ring-leader in the movement.

As regards the taxes, it has reformed the internal revenue as far as the distribution of the imposts is concerned, but has well-nigh neutralized this reform by refusing to deal with the mode of appointment and the discipline of the revenue service, although the condition of this service has for the last four years been a notorious scandal and disgrace, and has caused and still causes the loss to the Government of one-third of the internal revenue taxes. With the tariff it has resolutely refused to deal, and it has made no attempt whatever to arrange



it on any known principle or doctrine of any school of economists, but has imposed duties, recklessly and indiscriminately, without any attention to their number or effects, under the dictation of bands of interested or corrupt lobbyists, and, as one of its own officers has pointed out within the present year, to the ruin of our foreign commerce and the serious injury of many branches of domestic industry. Though last, not least, a system of corruption has grown up under the party administration such as has never been witnessed in this or any other civilized country. Washington swarms with jobbers and speculators of every kind and degree, and the time of Congress is largely taken up with the consideration of their schemes; nearly every branch of the public service is, or is believed to be, under the control of "a ring," or administered in its interest; and the faith of the public in the honesty—the mere pecuniary honesty—of public men has declined and is declining to an extent which, considering what a part confidence in the character of public men must always play in politics, it is certainly no exaggeration to call alarming.

Under these circumstances it is safe to say that the ability of the party to discharge its obligations to the colored population depends on its success in dealing with the other problems of the day. People will not much longer accept devotion to "human equality" or "the rights of man" as an excuse for the condition of the finances and the civil service. He must be a very blind person who does not see how largely the popular interest in the question of "equal rights" has declined during the past year, owing to the increasing concentration of attention on the prevailing corruption, and the increasing anxiety as to Grant's ability to abate it. In other words, people are more concerned about the kind of government in which the black man is to share than about the precise mode or time in which he is to share in it, and are occupied rather with the question who is to collect the taxes, and what is to be done with them after they are paid, than with the question of who is to vote them or pay them. The continuance of the present abuses would, every one is agreed, leave little in American politics in which a decent man of any color would take much pride or satisfaction, or from which he could derive much benefit.

#### THE ALABAMA CONVENTION.

THE text of Mr. Reverdy Johnson's convention with Lord Clarendon, providing machinery for the settlement of the *Alabama* and similar questions, has been published during the past week, and is now before the Senate, with which body the discussion of it might safely and fairly be left. But as it probably will not be left with it, and the propriety of ratifying a treaty is a question on which the Senate may be fairly expected to listen to public opinion, and no doubt will be influenced by public opinion, it is desirable that the public should know exactly what it is that is now under debate.

Amongst the things which do not come before us in examining the convention is Mr. Johnson's character and antecedents. With the goodness or badness of the arrangement into which he has entered his personal qualities have nothing to do. He has said many foolish things, and has been guilty of great indiscretion and great want of dignity, and may even, as the *Sun* says, have been "bribed by the enemies of the country" to preside at a dinner party of wicked men and give them a legal opinion; but these things are not incompatible with the supposition that he has made a good treaty. Some of the most foolish and immoral men have produced or advocated excellent lines of policy. Charles James Fox, John Wilkes, and even the lamented Thaddeus Stevens, would have worn a sorry look on the "moral platform," but they nevertheless supported or brought forward some very wise measures in their time. Marlborough was a liar and a traitor, but he won Blenheim and Maplaquet, while Frémont, a model of political virtue, somehow never led his "grand army" out of Missouri. It is true that the fact that a treaty has been negotiated by a reputed enemy of the Government, or by a servant only moderately careful of its honor, should be closely scrutinized; but it is also true that all treaties should be carefully scrutinized, because the best diplomatists may, through carelessness or stupidity, commit the errors which bad ones commit by design. A convention such as that which Mr. John-

son has negotiated, involving many millions of money and a difference of exceeding delicacy between two great nations, should be examined both by the public and the Senate with the minutest attention, no matter by whom framed. That is to say, that there should be just as much time and pains taken to weigh the bargain if made by Mr. Sumner as if made by Mr. Johnson; no more, but no less. The character of the negotiator will, of course, in some degree influence every senator's mind in judging the result of the negotiation, because senators are but men; but the senator who least allows his judgment to be influenced by it will discharge his duty most faithfully.

Another consideration which ought not to affect the national judgment on the convention is the spirit of the English nation during the war, or the moral complexion of Laird's share in the destruction of American commerce. There are things which might fairly influence American judgment in deciding on the form of satisfaction the United States should ask for or accept. There are heights of national indignation and depths of national wrong for which there is no remedy but war. In other words, there are injuries and insults, happily more rare as the world advances in civilization, which no nation can submit to arbitration, on the proper compensation for which it can allow nobody to decide but itself. But once a nation agrees to submit to arbitration, it passes at once out of the domain of feeling into that of reason; or, to speak more literally, lays down its arms and goes into court. Once there, the understanding takes complete jurisdiction of the dispute; therefore, when Mr. Seward agreed to allow other persons than the United States Government to say whether the United States had suffered wrong at the hands of Great Britain, and if so, what damages they ought to receive, he agreed that sentimental considerations should no longer weigh in the case, and that the rule of decision should be furnished by the law of nations, the principles of equity, and the common sense of educated men.

What Mr. Johnson has been doing, is trying to provide a tribunal, and rules for its guidance, which shall apply this law, these principles, and this common sense to such facts as may be submitted to it; and the question now before the country is, whether his tribunal is as perfect a one as human nature and the gravity of the case with which it is called on to deal will admit of. The dispute itself between England and America is not now under discussion. That has been canvassed until most people are thoroughly familiar with it. What we are considering is whether a good means of ending it has been hit on. It is nothing against the proposed tribunal that it will not, under any circumstances, award the full amount of damage the United States has sustained at sea, or take from England the full amount of the gain which has accrued to her through the rebellion. Even after all the damage actually done by Confederate cruisers has been paid for, Americans will be many millions out of pocket, through the fear inspired by Confederate cruisers; while even if England had compensated the ravages of these cruisers fourfold, she would still be a great gainer. After the commission has done everything that can be expected of it, a great deal of wrong will still remain unatoned for; but then those who condemn it on this ground have to produce some other instrument that will do better. There is no human mode of exacting of everybody who participates in or instigates a great war the proper amount of retribution. No court is adequate to any such task. Nobody can say exactly who is responsible for a great war, or to whom it was owing that it was attended with such and such atrocities or did not end at such and such a time. We have within the jurisdiction of the United States courts at this moment plenty of men who are known to have committed dozens of murders during the rebellion, but no attempt has been made to punish them. Granting that the English recognition of the South as a belligerent contributed to the prolongation of hostilities, it is impossible to say *how much* it contributed, or what proportion of the losses sustained by the North were due to her agency. We might as well attempt to put the Democratic party on its trial for complicity in the rebellion, and force it to pay the national debt, as to put England on her trial and force her to pay for *all* the damage sustained by American commerce through the military operations of the Confederates. So that, if the commission fails to do exact justice, we have only to ask ourselves whether war would do better; whether,

after having fought England, we should be less out of pocket than we shall be after receiving payment for all losses sustained by the *Alabama* and her coadjutors.

The flagrant and patent fault of the convention, as it has appeared in the newspapers, is the mode of appointing the umpire who is to decide in case the four commissioners cannot agree on the same person. This umpire is to be chosen by lot out of two previously selected by both parties, so that even the question of England's liability might be decided at the outset by an Englishman or a person selected by England. If the arbiter may be chosen by lot under such circumstances, the whole question might as well be decided at once by tossing up a cent. The object of the commission is not simply to give a decision, but to give a decision which both parties are likely to respect, and a decision arrived at, even in part, by blind chance would command nobody's respect, and probably would not be enforced. But then the Senate is at least as likely to see this, as well as other weak points of the convention, as anybody out of doors, and we may feel assured that it will be satisfactory in any form in which it issues from their hands. Even Mr. Seward's great point, the submission to the commission of the propriety, in point of time, of the concession of belligerent rights to the insurgents by Great Britain, would hardly give trouble, even if England had refused to agree to it, because nobody has ever been able to see how that, or any other notorious fact, could be kept back from the consideration of the commission. When two disputants ask an arbitrator to pass on the culpability or liability of one of them, what they really submit to him, no matter what they put on paper, is what he himself knows of the case. What they withhold from him is simply what they can keep from his knowledge. So that the controversy on this point has always seemed to us one of those airy discussions which sometimes precede reconciliation between intending duellists of a pacific disposition. If the question of recognition had been likely to exert any influence on the amount of damages, the point would have worn a different aspect; but this, we believe, has never been maintained by anybody. What is gained, therefore, now by showing that the Queen's proclamation was prematurely issued, is a sort of quasisproof that Lord Russell was at that date an evil-disposed man. The English liability for the *Alabama* ravages has been practically admitted by the English government, and is believed by publicists here and on the continent at least, to flow from its violation of its legal status as a *neutral*, and not from a misdirection of its moral sympathies.

The New York *Tribune's* suggestion that the claims of the Confederate bondholders may be admitted by the commission, under the agreement to adjudicate British claims against the United States as well as American claims against England, is of course worth attention, as is the possibility that Semmes may claim damages for the loss of his personal baggage in the *Alabama*. But the remedy in case either of these claims is allowed by the umpire is very simple—break up the commission and bring its proceedings to an end. There is little difficulty in excluding these claims by a special clause; when Great Britain insists on advancing them, it will be time to get into a proper state of indignation over them.

#### INTERVIEWING.

So far as a journal is made good by its editorial writing, European journals are, no doubt, better than American. There is as little doubt, we suppose, that so far as the goodness of a journal depends on the labors of reporters and collectors of news our papers are superior to those of the older countries. So far as concerns the production of the "able article" in politics or in literature, the *Times* of New York will admit itself behind the *Times* of London. But if we take our American *Times*, with its heavy Atlantic Cable bills and its long account with the Associated Press, and institute a comparison between it and its English namesake, with its scanty dole of telegrams from M. Reuter and his Continental confrères, the result will be far from unfavorable to us. Leaving out of consideration these special points of superiority and inferiority, it is safe to say, by the way, that foreign newspapers and our own are much the same thing; plainly, the new, indigenous original American literature that they speak of, is not going to be a periodical literature; it is not in essentials that the American journal is unlike the European; the main differences are differences not of kind, but of the degree of ability with which the same or very similar topics are handled.

Nevertheless, there is a new path or two that we have struck out; and, as might have been expected, it is "our reportorial staff" that may claim the credit of the invention. "Interviewing" is confined to American journalism. At all events, it was among us that it had its origin, and it flourishes among us with a luxuriant strength that is nowhere else equalled or emulated. Occasionally an enterprising German or Frenchman gets admission to the presence of Von Beust or Von Bismarck or Thiers, and sends to some paper an account of what he saw and what was said; but usually his report is a mere bit of narration or a little gossip, and has none of the profound political significance which our own interviewing is supposed to have. And now and again a delegation makes a politically significant visit to Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli, and the papers print the spokesman's address and the minister's reply. It is, however, never observed that the English delegation makes its visit without having in view the furtherance of some specific object to which the attention of the official must be called, or else it wishes to make known to a favorite leader, for his encouragement, that his course in regard to this thing or that has the approval of his constituents. The American interview is another affair altogether. The reporter who seeks an interview with Mr. Wade or Mr. Butler or Mr. Ashley does not, as the Frenchman does, make his visit because of some matter of personal business, and then incidentally, for the gratification of a natural if rather trivial public curiosity, put down on paper a description of the statesman's rooms and dress and appearance and manners, and a record of what chanced to be said. Still less does he go as the English visitors do, for the purpose of himself saying something to a public servant. His part in the conversation is merely to put certain leading questions designed to draw forth in the directest way the views of the statesman on all political questions that may at the moment be exciting attention, and, more particularly, a good deal more particularly, to elicit an explanation of some passages in his career which probably may come up for discussion in the nominating caucus of the next week. "Governor," the reporter says, "I see that some of the Radical sheets are saying that you are in favor of the forcible annexation of Cuba and the establishment of the Coolie trade. How is it about that?" Or, "Governor, I suppose you have noticed that an opposition paper in your district alleges that you voted twice against the bill giving two hundred dollars bounty to the soldiers and sailors, and that on its passage you got leave to change your vote; and that afterwards you altered your speech in the *Globe* before you began to circulate it down there. Is that so? Some of your friends think you ought to say something about it." The Governor then thus replies to the reporter, or gives him a written statement to this or the like effect: "He had been long enough in public life to know that if a man undertook to answer every calumny that was heaped upon him he would have very little time left to attend to the affairs of his constituents. Jefferson used to say that a lie travelled across lots, but truth had to go round by the dirt road, and he had found it to be about so. His grandfather having fought through the Revolution, and his father having been a sailor in the war of 1812, and he himself having left his business to recruit men to help to put down the late rebellion, it might be that he had been a little too ardent in his desire to see the Stars and Stripes spread over an island which, by the laws of nature, was designed for a part of this country, and which was cursed by a European despotism. His chief idea, however, in connection with that matter had been to run the sugar plantations on Government account for two or three years, till the Territorial governments could be framed, hypothecating the staple crops for the purpose of lightening the burden of taxation now resting on the poor man. His plan was to base a new issue of greenbacks on the sugar bonds and give every man a fair chance; at present the rich had it all their own way. As for the editor who made the charge, he was not worth notice. The governor had been obliged to have him arrested during the war for discouraging enlistments; he never forgot it. His wife, he believed, left him years ago; she was now in Illinois somewhere. The story about his vote on the bounty bill was a good specimen, he remarked, of the way the Copperheads attacked a man's record, if he had been true to his country while their friends down in the Confederacy had been putting our men into their Andersonvilles and Libbys. It was true he had wished the defeat of that bill and had voted against it. He had framed a substitute bill himself, having for its object to give every soldier and sailor who had been honorably discharged one quarter section of good land in place of giving him a money bounty, most of which would be got by speculators and agents. After all, history proved that the principal reliance of any country must be its honest, hard-working farmers. His former private secretary had taken it on himself to make some slight changes in the governor's speech on that occasion,



and as soon as the governor discovered the fact the secretary was discharged."

The political bearing of the merely descriptive and other seemingly incidental parts of the "interview," as we get it in print, is not less marked than that of the rest of it. It is not in the spirit of idle gossip that the correspondent tells us of the great man's surroundings and his habits when at home. The first surprise was, he is likely to tell us, "when he got off the cars" and enquired where the old senator's residence was situated, for he had been expecting to see a mansion whose appearance should be in proportion to the national fame of its owner. The house was a plain frame structure, a little the worse for wind and weather, with a large barn behind it; near by were two men and a boy at work. The ill-dressed man was the old champion himself, feeding a pig; the boy was his youngest son, sawing wood. The room into which the correspondent was invited was very plainly furnished, without pictures, except a photograph of the Capitol at Washington and a portrait of the senator. Noticing the absence of a piano, the correspondent was told that the senator "believed in a churn." His wife did her own washing, he said. The dinner was very simple, and the stories about the senator's drinking at Washington and on the cars were not confirmed by the pitcher of remarkably cold and clear water which stood on the table. The first thing he did, the senator said, when he got that lot, was to dig a well. He had always voted for a prohibitory law when in the State Legislature. The well and the cellar he dug in the day-time, and at night did sums on his slate by fire-light. He preferred a rag-carpet, he said. As for a big library, he thought if a man had one or two good books and made himself master of them he was more likely to turn out successful than if he spent his time looking up dead men's thoughts. Past ages were not progressive; and what might do well enough for Europe would not do for this country. In his judgment a good newspaper like the *Tom-tom* contained more information in a week than most books do in ten years.

In short, the "interview," as at present managed, is generally the joint production of some humbug of a hack politician and another humbug of a newspaper reporter. The one lives by being notorious and the other by seeking out notoriety and being "spicy" by stringing together personalities about them. Sometimes, of course, it happens that the opinions given are those of an able and respectable man, but this is very rare; and it is still rarer that when this does happen, they have been honestly learned by the person who gives them to the press. Usually he has made a rascally use of a chance opportunity, or in some indirect manner has learned what So-and-so has said among his friends, and this he puts down, mixed with other matters, as having been said to himself. A notorious instance of this latter kind has recently been much talked about—Grant being represented to have held a confidential conversation with a writer for the press, who fabricated half of what professed to be a true report and picked up the rest from people unsuspecting of his intention. In general there is really not very much objection to the interviewing's being done in this manner. It is not worth while for the reporter to pay hotel bills and railroad charges for his personal transportation over many miles in order to get hold of the talk of an average "old war-horse" or "old wheel-horse." A look at the distinguished man's stump speeches or his performances in Congress shows what he will say on any given subject, for when he is at the end of the platitudes or the ravings that make up his verbal activity as a statesman there is nothing more in him, and any "member of the press" is fully as competent as he to put "views" into his mouth. The men who really have something to say which it would be worth while to hear do not suffer themselves to be made the interviewer's prey, and assuredly never colloquy with him for the purpose of "keeping themselves before the public." That trade has plenty of followers, however; and some of the senators and representatives from our oldest and most respectable States are occasionally to be found among the number. We think of one who, under the temptings of one of the most skilful, as well as most pushing and impertinent, of Eastern interviewers, permitted himself to speak of his fellow-legislators in language for which they might justly have made him rise in his place and apologize. Imagine somebody with a taste for being spicy approaching Monroe or Adams or Webster to get out of him and into the note-book what he thought of the private motives which dictated the vote on a particular occasion of either one of the others, his colleagues.

But the worst offender of all engaged in the preparation of "the interview" is one whom we have not mentioned—the editor who pays for its concoction and publishes it. He will very likely admit when off duty, or for that matter when on, that his correspondent is a blackguard and a gentleman of no doubtful character as regards veracity. In fact, he may acknowledge that he is aware that that worthless and bad man is at the mo-

ment confined in the back office, on limited rations, fabricating imaginary remarks to be made by General Grant to "a well-known conservative gentleman, who has ever been of opinion that the General meant to be the President of a party and not of the whole country." But this confession, and the fact that he lays claim to the title of an honest man and gentleman, will not prevent the editor's giving his assistance, if necessary, to his ingenious employee, and paying him high wages for his services, and publishing whatever rascality may result from his efforts. The paper must have "spice" and something sensational. Conscience or common decency in its editorial management is less necessary; at all events, if it is necessary, its existence is somehow not found incompatible with a cool disavowal of responsibility for these petty villainies. Sometimes, even, it is not found incompatible with a labored defence of them when they are exposed. The *World*, the other day, when Grant convicted it of a story that looked particularly malicious, occupied a column in an attempt at showing that, no matter what he chose to pretend, Grant must, after all, have reviled certain nominal party friends of his in the manner set forth in the fabulous interview; or must, at any rate, be all ready to break with them, because otherwise he would not "have been driven into a course so out of character for him, and so unexampled in the conduct of any President elect," as to say that there was no truth in some disgraceful falsehoods of an anonymous correspondent, whose performance, of course, could have done no harm if some respectable person had not made himself an accessory of the fabricator. In its best estate, when it merely serves to make some politician clumsily ridiculous in the eyes of all discerning people, the "interview" is bad enough; but in that form of it exemplified in the instance we have been commenting on the press could hardly have a worse disgrace or a worse enemy. The lesson that there are limits to people's endurance of printed impudence is one that should be taught the conductors of the press by their own sense of moral responsibility for all the damage done by anything to which they give publicity. It is because "interviewing" helps to establish the curious device of looking on the correspondent, whether interviewer or not, as a person who may be disgusting, to be sure, but who is his own keeper fortunately, and not at all under editorial control, that it is chiefly to be condemned.

#### ENGLAND.

LONDON, January 8, 1869.

THE columns of the newspapers will, for some time to come, be filled with the reports of some remarkable legal proceedings. The case of Overend, Gurney & Co. will be known by name, at least, to some of your readers. The firm had, for some years, been one of the largest discounting firms in the City. In 1865 they transferred their business to a limited company, some of the directors of which had been already partners in the original firm. After nine months, the company was wrecked in the financial difficulties of 1866, and it has since appeared to have been hopelessly insolvent from the beginning. The unlucky shareholders have had to pay up large sums beyond their original investments, and many of them have been ruined. In such a case, it is naturally the rule to make things as pleasant as possible, and to avoid the loss and trouble of exposure. On the present occasion an indignant shareholder has arisen who is not disposed to take things so quietly. He has attacked the directors in the criminal courts, and a long investigation has begun, of which it is difficult for uncommercial persons to follow the exact ins and outs. The general nature of the complaint, however, is simple enough. It is to the effect that the directors cheated the public by issuing a prospectus in which they entirely misrepresented affairs, and, well knowing that they were, in fact, insolvent, and that their liabilities exceeded their assets by £3,000,000 or more, declared that they were in a flourishing condition, and estimated the goodwill of the business at £500,000. They further induced the new directors to take over, as good assets, about £4,000,000 of debts which they knew to be bad, and concealed the transaction by a secret deed. I know not how far this accusation may be substantiated, and it will doubtless involve a somewhat intricate investigation. The result should, at any rate, be favorable to commercial morality, which, under its recent developments, is certainly in need of some purifying agencies. The case having come before the criminal courts, there is no danger of its being interrupted, and the battle will be fought out to the end.

Another series of cases in which the courts are brought into conflict with pecuniary corruption will begin in a few days. Amongst the actions for which Mr. Disraeli may fairly claim credit, one was the institution of a new system with regard to Parliamentary elections. Hitherto it has been the law to investigate petitions against a return of members before a Com-

mittee of the House of Commons. In the last session, after some rather doubtful manœuvring by members of both parties, Mr. Disraeli succeeded in passing an act, of which it was the main feature that such cases should, in future, be tried by judges sitting on the spot. Next week, accordingly, the judges will go down to the various towns from which petitions have been received, and proceed to the trial of some sixty cases. There is a great deal of speculation as to the probable result of this system. Hitherto the Committees of the House of Commons, though desirous in a general way of doing justice, have not shown all the energy desirable. Liberal members have found it rather harder to believe in the guilt of Liberal than of Conservative candidates, and Conservatives have taken the opposite view of the relative purity of the two parties. Moreover, both sides have felt a certain tenderness towards gentlemen of their own class, and have been more inclined than a court of justice should be to adopt the Christian rule of putting a charitable construction upon everything. In short, there has not been that energetic prosecution of every clue to the discovery of guilt which is necessary in the case of a crime so easily concealed. Besides this, the expense of bringing witnesses up to London, and keeping them waiting for days or weeks, has, amongst other things, made the proceedings so expensive as to be of itself a considerable obstruction to justice. The judges, it is expected, will have no tenderness for the accused. They have given every proof of a desire to make the investigation as strict and searching as law can make it; and every one will sympathize with a vigorous ferreting out of the evil. They will, moreover, be able to take a more independent position than the committees, and, if any suspicious circumstances appear, to send for witnesses, whether voluntarily produced by the parties to the suit or not. Being on the spot, they will be able to enforce attendance with greater facility. I have only heard it urged on the other side that the necessity of laying down strict judicial rules will tend to hamper the court, and that future agents will, as it were, have an exact chart laid down of the various shoals upon which they are likely to be wrecked, and regulate their future proceedings accordingly; whereas, from the costly mode of procedure of a committee, and its comparative disregard of precedent, it was comparatively difficult to be guarded at all points.

The general opinion, however, is that the new method of trial will prove to give a great increase in efficiency. It is generally said that scarcely any member can be safe against a petition. Legally, it is sufficient to prove any case of treating, bribery, or intimidation—even without the knowledge of the candidate—to invalidate the election; and an indiscreet friend may, therefore, ruin the cause. I know, at least, of one gentleman of the very highest character, not only in private life but in a judicial office, who would not be suspected for a moment, even by his antagonists, of any corrupt proceedings, not merely from implicit confidence in his character, but because from his position it could not be worth his while to run the risk of exposure. Yet I am told that there is a considerable prospect that he will be turned out, on account, as I presume, of some dealings over which he had no control. In short, it is said that no one is safe, unless he has reached an ideal of purity scarcely to be expected in an election. We shall, however, soon be able to speak from experience; I may be able to give you a few specimens of English electioneering on the highest authority.

Meanwhile, even if bribery and corruption should be effectually put down, a consummation much to be desired, the influence of wealth would not necessarily be greatly diminished. It is suggestive of the sums which members are prepared to spend on their elections, that one barrister engaged in the present prosecutions receives £500 as a retaining fee, and fifty guineas a day, whilst the case lasts. This of course implies that a member thinks a seat worth some thousand pounds, and if he may not spend his money in directly corrupt ways, he can easily obtain influence by his expenditure. I have known a man elected for building a church, and a rich man who lives amongst his constituents has no difficulty in causing his money to flow through appropriate channels to their pockets. A letter which has just been published from Mr. Goldwin Smith bears upon this point. He tells us that the influence of money is far greater in England than elsewhere, greater for example than in France or the United States; that he consequently could not afford to stand for Parliament; and justifies his departure from us to you by the extent to which we are under the power of a plutocracy. The question is far too large a one for me to discuss in this place; but I may venture to claim for this money-ridden country that at least we are endeavoring to bring the highest judicial authority to bear against the corrupt use of wealth, and that there is a sound public sentiment prepared to support it to the utmost. Money will have influence and, in many ways, a very bad influence here for some time to come; possibly it may not be without influence elsewhere; but I am sanguine enough to

hope that we shall improve the tone of public opinion as to some modes of using it, and that rich men will at least not feel themselves to be above the law.

I mentioned briefly in my last letter the recent decision against the Ritualists. They seem to be hesitating as to the right course to pursue, though, I think, with a disposition towards accepting the judgment. They are now endeavoring to prove, I cannot say with what success, that it hurts the evangelical party as much as themselves. A strict interpretation of the rubric, for example, would, as they argue, compel the officiating priest to stand in front of the communion table instead of at one side, when consecrating the sacrament. This, it appears, is a matter of great importance. Also it would necessitate the use of more elaborate vestments. In short, if a rigid interpretation of the rubric is henceforth to be the law, as the recent decision would seem to imply, the Prayer-Book, which was a compromise between two parties, would subject both to annoyance. I am really incompetent to decide, and will only say that the main point appears to me to be the submission on whatever grounds to an ordinary court of law. To acknowledge its authority appears to be inconsistent in the long run with the priestly claims of the ritualists; and if they submit, they abandon to some extent their pretensions. Meanwhile, they seem to have a considerable share of the sympathies of the Liberal party. They have all the advantage of apparent martyrdom—though not very severe martyrdom. They have been prosecuted on trivial matters about candles and millinery, and people who laugh at them for attaching so much importance to those matters think it equally wrong of antagonists to prosecute on such slight grounds. If, it is naturally said, these observances are objectionable on account of the doctrines which they are supposed to symbolize, prosecute ritualists for the expression of the heretical opinions—not for the mere ornaments and gestures which indicate the opinions. Prosecute them for preaching the Real Presence—not for lighting candles or kneeling before the table; for teaching the efficacy of confession absolute—not for dressing in many-colored garments.

I shall simply mention these opinions without discussing their propriety, and add that everything seems to me to indicate that we are at the beginning of church difficulties to which the present lawsuit is a mere trifle. And whilst noticing these quarrels over vestments and altars, it may not be out of place to add that an intelligent person much employed amongst the London working-classes told me the other day that, in his opinion, at least nine out of ten were infidels. I cannot give the proportion amongst the educated, but they are not so different from these as people might guess who judged from expressions of public opinion. Altogether we form a nice audience for the discussion of ecclesiastical questions about candles and vestments.

Ministers have not yet showed their hands; but they profess great eagerness for retrenchment. Mr. Cardwell, the new Minister of War, has cut down the number of postage-stamps used in volunteer corps. This fact has been duly chronicled in the papers. This kind of cheeseparing is ridiculous enough; but we have hints at more sweeping measures. One plan hinted at has been the withdrawal of our 12,000 (if I mistake not) troops from Canada, and the subsequent reduction of the strength, though not of the *cadres*, of the army by that amount. Of course we assure the Dominion that removing our army from them does not in the least weaken our connection with them. This is at present a mere report; but if any sensible reduction is made, it will be by some such measure, not by cutting off postage stamps and stationery.

## Correspondence.

### DR. HAYES AND THE NORTH POLE.

[A CORRESPONDENT, whose education and whose business have led him to take a particular interest in the subject of arctic explorations, writes thus in regard to Dr. Hayes's renewed proposals of research, which were referred to in our number for January 14.]

"I trust Dr. Hayes will succeed in starting another expedition. His difficulty, however, will be in procuring sufficient money to properly equip the same. He needs a stout steamer and one, or, if possible, two sailing vessels. He should be fitted to pass three winters, if it should be deemed advisable, in the arctic country. There is no trouble about men's enlisting for this time, if properly commanded and fed. We have had one crew from Cumberland Inlet this season, who had passed *two winters there*, and *no heartier, healthier set of men ever came into port*.

"I am quite confident that Dr. Hayes will be able to reach the very pole if he can only start right and stay long enough. An intelligent



whaling-master who was in the Pacific Arctic Ocean in the summer of 1867 (which was, as you are aware, a very open season), told me that he believed he could with a stout steamer have pushed through that summer to Spitzbergen. Any expedition fitted for arctic research is liable to lose an entire season if the weather should be especially severe. My only fear is that Dr. Hayes will be so anxious to go on another expedition that he will make the venture without securing sufficient means to accomplish his object properly."

B.

## Notes.

### LITERARY.

MESSRS. SHELDON & Co. announce "John Ploughman's Talk," by the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon.—Messrs. E. J. Hale & Sons announce a tale of Southern life, one founded on fact, entitled "Miron Place," and written by Miss Anna Frederic.—The Providence (R. I.) Press Company will publish "Carthage and Tunis, Past and Present," by Mr. Amos Perry, who not long since was our consul in those parts.—"A List of the Most Important Books for a Minister's Library" is a work that will soon be published by Mr. W. F. Draper, who, being of Andover, Massachusetts, will perhaps satisfy the stricter Evangelical clergymen better than any others. He will publish, too, these works: a (Greek) "Harmony of the Four Gospels," according to Tischendorf's text; Dr. Joseph Haven's "Studies in Philosophy and Theology;" a treatise entitled "Classical Study: Its Usefulness illustrated by Selections from the Writings of Eminent Scholars;" and some Greek and Hebrew and historical text-books, to which we need not call the attention of the general reader.

—In discussing (see the *Nation* of June 18, 1868) the reform movement among the Jews, we stated that it had its centre in Germany, but was "felt with more or less force from Odessa to San Francisco, and from Stockholm to Algiers." Evidences of that movement in this country have just reached us in the shape of two prospectuses of Jewish publications. The first, announced by M. Ellinger, of this city, will be a weekly paper, sixteen pages quarto, called the *Jewish Times*, and will be "devoted to the interests of Judaism, and to advocating the cause of Reform and Progress." Beyond the unity of God, it does not clearly appear from the circular what is comprehended in "true Judaism" as understood by the parties to this enterprise, but we judge they would not disagree with M. Hippolyte Rodrigues (*L'Idée israélite en France en 1868*) in proclaiming "three dogmas: the unity of God, the immateriality of God, the immortality of the soul;" and "three essential principles, derived from the laws of nature: free-will, the brotherhood of man, the liberty of interpretation." Four of the sixteen pages of the *Jewish Times* will be printed in German, and the subscription price will be five dollars. Among its advertised contributors are several citizens of Chicago, including Dr. Chronik, pastor of the reform-congregation of "Sinai," who himself notifies the public that he will edit a monthly periodical, *Zeichen der Zeit* (*Signs of the Times*), devoted to religion, philosophy, and society in their correlations. He is supported by a committee of his congregation, who announce that they have assured the material success of the enterprise. It is to be published in German, at the price of two dollars per annum. Of the editor we are sorry to say that we have no personal knowledge. His address to the Spaniards, which is sent out with his prospectus, indicates his attachment to republican ideas, while he believes that no government will be so good for the Spaniards as that which they deliberately choose for themselves.

—Book-buyers of means and taste will do well to get a priced catalogue of "an amateur's collection" of luxurious books which Mr. Bouton now has on sale. It describes many very superb volumes, masterpieces of binding and typography, and rich in engravings. The collection has been made within the last three or four years, and embraces some of the spoils of many celebrated European libraries which have been dispersed within that period. Perhaps the gem of the collection is a copy of Longus's famous "Daphnis and Chloe," the original of so much pastoral romantic fiction, illustrated with twenty-nine original pen-drawings by Martini and a duplicate set, colored, by the same artist, who followed the designs said to have been made by the Duke of Orleans, at whose press the work was printed. The work is in quarto, two volumes in one, magnificently bound, and in typography said to be an unsurpassed specimen of printing on vellum. \$2,600 is the price set upon it. Other noticeable works are these: A "Martyn's Universal Conchologist" with 161 colored plates of shells, the figures colored by the author himself, mounted within ornamented borders prepared expressly for this copy, is offered at \$480. It is a very rare book.

There are quite a number of works relating to the theatrical profession, notably Boaden's "John Philip Kemble," a two-volume work extended to six by the insertion of 350 portraits (\$235); Raymond's "Life of Elliston," two volumes extended to four by the insertion of 500 views, portraits, and autographs (\$263 50); lives of Matthews, Mrs. Jordan, Charles Kean, and others. Among the rarest books are two very unlike each other. One is a large-paper copy of old Dibdin's "Tour in France and Germany," crammed full of pictures in all stages, and in fact running over with illustrations, the original three volumes having been made into six, bound by Charles Lewis in the richest of morocco bindings, and valued as it stands at \$1,800. It is said that it was the pride and pleasure of Sir G. H. Freeling to make this copy the very best in existence, and it is to be hoped that he died happy, for he spent twenty years and nobody knows how much money and study and labor in collecting engravings in pen-and-ink, in pencil, in chalk, in colors, on steel, on wood, on copper, and in having made for his special purpose what he did not find in existence. The other book we have mentioned is a copy of the third edition of the Marquis De Sade's atrocious "New Justine, or the Misfortunes of Virtue;" followed by the History of Juliette, the Sister of Justine." This is the book of which they relate that the infamous Saint Just used to read it for the purpose of inciting his ferocity to new cruelties. It is erotic, but sanguinary rather than anything else. As a specimen of ancient printing and ancient engraving we may mention a sound and perfect copy, in royal folio, a foot wide by a foot and a half high, of the "Nuremberg Chronicle." It contains more than 2,200 wood engravings. But the catalogue—which, by the way, sells at twenty-five cents—should be seen, as there are not many of its thousand volumes that are not in some way highly interesting; it is a catalogue of a library with very little dead wood of any kind in it.

—Two or three of our most distinguished American authors have recently been faring among the English critics, and on the whole they have fared well and been treated nearly as they deserve. Mr. Longfellow has met with a very warm reception. The appearance of Hawthorne's "Note Books" has given occasion for passing a new judgment on him, and the general verdict seems to be what his admirers would claim should be passed on him, that he was a genius and a very rare one, whether or not he was a very great one; "dreamy predilection for the mysterious and moonlight aspect of things," "intellectual grace, and," must be added, weakness of intellectual bone and sinew." These are the words of a critic in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who seems to be a person of rather too downright cast of mind to see just what Hawthorne was and wherein his strength lay. His mental bone and sinew were not obvious and asserted; but to call him intellectually weak is to go as much out of the way as to call him a distinguished reasoner. Nor is it a very happy use of language to describe Hawthorne's predilection for the mysterious as of a dreamy kind. The critic goes on praising freely, and not giving one the impression of being the best man in the world to talk about Hawthorne. For instance, one of Hawthorne's suggestions for a story is "a man living a wicked life in one place and simultaneously a virtuous and religious life in another;" and it can be imagined by sympathetic readers what the sombre result would have been if the author of "The Scarlet Letter" or "The House of the Seven Gables" had taken up the theme. The reviewer reminds us that the hint "has been worked out by Arsène Houssaye;" the Frenchman's story being of a woman who lived a devout life at the same time that, under another name, she was a light of the French *demi-monde*; which sounds not much like Hawthorne. Our author's English style seems to be that quality of his which is most fully appreciated by his British critics. Mr. Lowell's "Under the Willows" is everywhere praised. Our friends of the *Publishers' Circular* say that "he has a style of his own, like and yet unlike that of any of our English poets, and not to be mistaken for that of his own countryman and contemporary Longfellow." Furthermore, the same authority says that "his verses are redolent of the mountain, the sea, and the prairie." The *Saturday Review*, however, comes to the business of criticising the book in one of its best moods, we were going to say; in a mood of very unusual goodness, we will say; one where its ability, good taste, and good feeling make it highly admirable. Of "The Commemoration Ode" it is said that alone by itself it ought to silence those grumblers in America who think their country has no poet. The "Darkened Mind," too, a strong poem, of sad gravity and just pain, is spoken of as it deserves. So, in fact, is the volume generally. The same author's advice to Englishmen, in the December *Atlantic*, furnishes a theme on which the *Pall Mall Gazette* discourses at some length, and not with the utmost good grace, perhaps. However, it promises straightforward, manly behavior for the future. But the *Springfield Republican*, in its last issue, informs the Britisher that:

he may as well spare himself the trouble of trying to be civil or agreeable; the fact of the matter being that his only way of recommending himself to our people, and he may as well know it first as last, is to cease to be an Englishman altogether. But his case is not so bad as that, quite.

—"How the thing is done," in the matter of getting "first-rate notices," has been painfully revealed in the *Independent* of last week. The *Watchman* and *Reflector* wrote to it privately, it seems, for an encomium, which the *Independent*, feeling kindly towards the *Watchman*, at once prepared to "set up." But before it appeared, the interval being long, the *Watchman* seems to have lost patience, and began uttering loud laments over the *Independent's* "fall" from "evangelical religion," and spoke also, in another part of the same issue, and in a dismal manner, of the domestic arrangements of that paper, and predicted severely that the *Independent* would find "a vital Christianity" too strong for it. Seeing this, the *Independent* ordered its forthcoming "notice" of the cowardly *Watchman* to be stopped, but the printer, mistaking his instructions, kept it standing, and it appeared. Hereupon the *Watchman* found itself terribly embarrassed. On the one hand, the *Independent*, on the *Watchman's* own showing, had "fallen," and was in difficulties with regard to "vital Christianity;" but then the "notice" of the *Independent* was on its head like coals of fire. So it produced a second and reverberatory "notice" of the *Independent*, acknowledging the *Independent's* praises and expressing gratitude for its heterodox approval. But the *Independent* had by this time got its blood up, and formally retracted "Notice No. 1," explained how it came to appear, and chastised the *Watchman* savagely—would we could say undeservedly. As the matter now stands, four "first-rate notices" have been utterly wasted, "all gone away in de evigkeit," as Hans Breitmann says, and, what is worse, the public has been admitted to an inside view of the laboratory in which these articles are manufactured. To say nothing about the arrant humbug of them, we have always wondered how an adult of ordinary education could be so silly as to engage either in the solicitation or the production of them. They are one of the most ridiculous, as well as most odious, of the small impositions which our very pretentious fraternity practises on an innocent public, and the religious papers ought to set an example of dropping them. There is something highly impudent in selling people, as an honest and impartial opinion of a man or his work, something the man himself has privately solicited you to say.

—The Chinese are said to be considerably interested in the five newspapers that are now published in China, in the Chinese language, by foreign publishers. Of the two—one a weekly and one a tri-weekly—that are published at Shanghai, the Rev. Mr. Y. J. Allen, of the Methodist mission, is the editor, and he devotes them in good part to science; the Chinese paying a good deal more attention to that than to religion, and more, it may be presumed, to the religion than if it were presented without the science. The work that is being done is, at any rate, good, and it is of greater extent than one would suppose. As an evidence that the papers are read and appreciated, the Shanghai *News-Letter* says that a high official of Shanghai employs a clerk to copy out Mr. Allen's tri-weekly paper into Chinese. This copy is often sent to the higher mandarins in the interior and is eagerly read, especially when it treats of Political Economy, Chemistry, and Natural Philosophy. A literary chancellor has recently declared his intention to reform the Chinese mode of printing, and to that end has applied to Mr. Allen for information in regard to the *modus operandi* of electrotyping, typefounding, and so on. How to produce refined sugar was another question as to which he was very curious. All this may very likely be proof rather of the curiosity concerning new things which is common among the less civilized races, and which may rest content with a glimpse without ever going on to study and practice. But there seems little doubt that the old stagnant peace of the Flowery Kingdom is in process of breaking up. The five Chinese papers, one would say, are safe to exercise a great influence, and ought to be in good hands, as indeed they seem to be by the sensible course that two of them, at any rate, are pursuing.

—One of the most eminent representatives of the historical or comparative study of languages, Professor August Schleicher, of Jena, died a little more than a month ago, at the age of forty-eight. His life, although thus early cut short, has been rich in works of general and acknowledged value. The first of these to win wide circulation and high reputation was his "Languages of Europe in Systematic Review" (Bonn, 1850), a detailed classification and sketch of all the tongues of Europe, with analyzed specimens; a book which, in its line, has not yet been superseded. For some years, between '50 and '60, he devoted especial attention to the Lithuanian, publishing a valuable series of volumes respecting that curious and interesting tongue. In 1860 appeared his "German Language," the extended

and elaborate preface to which contains a fuller and more connected exhibition of his linguistic philosophy than he has made elsewhere. Next year, however, was put forth his most important production, the "Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages," of which a new edition, considerably altered and improved, appeared a couple of years ago. As a text-book of study and instruction this is the best work of its class in existence, decidedly more practical and manageable than Bopp's great grammar; it well deserves translation into English. Besides these more elaborate works, Schleicher has published many essays of noteworthy contents; in his "Morphology of Language" (St. Petersburg, 1859) he suggested a mode of notation of the phenomena of speech which has attracted much attention—of which, for example, Müller's last pamphlet contains an (unacknowledged) imitation. To the conclusions of his paper on the distinction of noun and verb (Leipzig, 1865) much exception may be taken; as also to those of the little pamphlets he has published at Jena on the relations of the study of language to that of the natural sciences. He is, namely, a vehement champion of the paradox that a language is a "natural organism," growing and developing by internal forces and necessary laws; and his statement and defence of this doctrine are so bald and extreme as to be self-refuting. He was not unskilled as a naturalist, and his studies in natural history, by some defect in his logical constitution, seem to have harmed his linguistics. With Dr. A. Kuhn, of Berlin, he was editor of the highly important linguistic periodical, "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung." In person and manner he is said to have nearly answered to the common idea of a German professor: somewhat awkward and angular, a little helpless outside his own special studies, and very absent-minded; withal, a most indefatigable worker, and a sincere and enthusiastic Liberal. His death, in the midst of what should be the period of a man's most valuable activity, is deeply to be deplored; there are few of his contemporaries who could not be better spared. He had promised as his next work an Indo-European chrestomathy, with full notes and glossaries, and happily brought it to completion a few days before his death.

—Of Schleicher's absent-mindedness the story is told that he once appeared in his lecture-room not, as usual, in a grey coat, buttoned to the chin, but in an open black overcoat. He did not discover the impropriety of his costume till he had searched in vain for his manuscript, which was not about him, and, begging pardon of his audience and promising short delay, he ran home, took the papers from his gray coat, and put them in the pocket of his surtout. Then it occurred to him that he might without loss of time resume his proper garb as a lecturer, and accordingly he exchanged the black for the grey. Of course when he returned he was again minus his manuscript, and was obliged, after an explanation which convulsed the audience, to dismiss them till another day. The concentration of thought which absent-mindedness commonly implies had, in Schleicher's case, perhaps the best example when he contemplated composing an entire tale in that mother-tongue to which the languages of Europe all refer—the *Ursprache*, as the Germans call it, of which not a word has come down to us unaltered. This was almost the knight-errantry of science.

—Any one interested in the discovery of antique silver-ware at Hildesheim, to which we have already twice alluded, should purchase of Mr. L. W. Schmidt, in this city, the third number of the fourth volume of Dr. Lützow's *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*. In it Prof. Unger, of Göttingen, describes minutely the principal pieces of the collection, with the aid of four engravings, which, while merely suggesting the richness of the originals, justify the high esteem in which these are held. Especially is the ornamentation of the vessel represented in Fig. 1—a huge bowl or "crater," under which, inverted, a number of small pieces were concealed and preserved from injury—remarkable for grace and freedom, recalling, as the professor notes, the painted tracery on Pompeian walls. Fig. 2, also, a deep circular dish with a Minerva in the centre in so high relief as to preclude the idea of ordinary usage, and a chased border of elegant design, is strikingly beautiful. A beaker with two handles, and a drinking bowl of hemispherical shape, adorned with bas-reliefs of masks, vines, and bacchic emblems, are represented in Figs. 3 and 4. In the dish referred to, the helm and ægis of the goddess, as well as the plough-tail in her right hand, are gilded; in others there is an ivy decoration in *niello*, with green enamelled leaves, artifices which in one instance are combined with pearls. That the pieces came from different workshops, and are in a great measure the product of Greek skill, seems certain. The ownership, if not assignable to Varus, is still obscure, though some light is expected from a parchment said to have been dug up with the treasure trove. Many of the pieces were so fragile—apparently those in *repoussé*—that they have suffered greatly in transportation to the Museum at Berlin. The crater



here delineated has unhappily crumbled away, though not before it had been photographed and reproduced, with several other pieces, in plaster. The electrotype process can now give us absolute fac-similes of them all; and our schools of design should have little difficulty in procuring duplicates, if so disposed. Perhaps Messrs. Tiffany & Co. would do the public taste that service.

—Among the noticeable illustrations in this periodical is also a large and (with the exception of the clouds) finely-executed etching after a painting by Rottmann, whose bust accompanies the descriptive text. The remains of this picturesque cradle of art are well exhibited from the painter's point of view, which includes also Parnassus, as another picture of the same place embraced the Acrocorinthus. M. Thausing contributes a second article of a biographical nature, on Dürer's *Hausfrau*, whose portrait, as drawn by her husband in 1521, with a Dutch head-cloth, is shown on page 78. In the *Beiblatt*, or Art-Chronicle, will be found letters on art, with current intelligence, personal and otherwise. Prang's chromos get a flattering notice. Herr A. Glaeser, secretary of the U. S. Consulate at Frankfort, is said to have translated into German the speech in which Mr. Sumner unsuccessfully opposed the aspirations of Miss Vinnie Ream, and to have added some account of the state of this country in regard to art, with sketches of American artists of both sexes (Frankfort: Hermann.) A more important announcement is that Julius Thäter has etched anew in copper Giotto's portrait of Dante recovered in 1840, taking for his model the drawing made by Seymour Kirkup immediately after the discovery, and prior to Marini's somewhat damaging restoration. Barthel, in Halle, is the publisher.

#### HUNTER'S RURAL BENGAL.\*

By "rural Bengal," Mr. Hunter means the country and the country people, the masses of the native population, as distinguished from the city and its inhabitants, the government, the ruling classes. His aim is to depict the condition and fate of the real people of the land during and since the period of transition from Mohammedan to English rule. Forsaking the beaten track of so-called history, he regards everything from the point of view of the lowly, and ignores the deeds of the great save as those are affected by them. The very idea of such a work is worthy of high praise. And its realization no less commands our admiration. Mr. Hunter writes under the impulse of the broadest humanity, with full appreciation of Hindu rights and claims. He gives us the results both of a long practical acquaintance with the Hindus, gained in the management of their affairs, and of studies, profound and minute, into their institutions and history. He is a representative Indian official of what is, or ought to be, the new régime in India—one of a class who are not the mere continuers of the old Mohammedan machinery for collecting revenues and amassing wealth, but who thoroughly feel the responsibility laid upon them as custodians of the happiness of a vast nation, and mean to do their duty well. We have read no recent work on India of which the tone has so satisfied us. It concerns, of course, first and especially, the English, with whom we hope that it will become a household book, and contribute powerfully to the education of public opinion. But it also possesses quite enough of general interest to justify the American edition. A well-conceived account of the inner life of a community like the Hindu, or of any part of it, has an importance limited by no country boundaries. And the volume contains also a store of materials valuable to the ethnologist.

Although not so styled upon its title-page, this is the first volume of a series. It deals with only two or three of the little provinces into which Bengal is divided, namely, with the higher lands south of the Ganges—inhabited by a mixed population of Santals, aborigines of the soil, and Hindus—with Beerbhoom (ugly mutilation of Virabhūmi, "land of heroes") and Bishenpore. Its first chapter, on the transition from native to British rule, is mainly occupied with the story of the great famine of 1769-70, in which it is said ten millions of human beings died of starvation in nine months! Mr. Hunter's exposition of the causes and the results of this dreadful calamity—results which have exercised a dominant influence on the whole history of the country since—is very instructive. One of the most striking circumstances attending it is the helplessness and ignorance of the new rulers in presence of it. It is compared and contrasted with the somewhat similar affliction of two years ago, of which the dire effects were chiefly limited to a single district, the one least accessible and least affected by the new ways which European civilization has introduced into India.

The return of repose after the desolation of the famine and the dis-

orders to which it led, suggests to Mr. Hunter a review of the constituents of the population he is dealing with, and an estimate of the mutual relations and influences of its different races and classes, and with this he occupies the largest division of the book. In the course of it he touches upon some of the deepest and most obscure problems of Indian history, such as the origin of caste and of the worship of Siya. In treating them he exhibits the same keenness of mind and force of thought as elsewhere in his work, and he succeeds in setting them in new aspects and casting valuable light upon them; but it must be confessed, at the same time, that he walks here with a less certain step, and gives way in some measure to that exaggeration and over-confidence which are so natural to one who applies himself with intensity to a particular portion only of the evidence needed to settle a difficult question.

The same criticism applies also to the linguistic parts of his work. Along with praiseworthy acuteness and general good sense, he shows a want of mastery of his subject by undue dependence upon certain authorities, and occasional slips which even reach the dimensions of a blunder—as where he ascribes to Schleicher the doctrine that the Sanskrit-speaking race borrowed nineteen articulate sounds from the aborigines of the peninsula, wherewith to supplement its own scanty alphabet (p. 180, note). His view, too, of the joint agency of "pronouns and roots" in producing the organism of speech (p. 139), is radically unsound and untenable. The sketch of Santal grammar is welcome, and Mr. Hunter's view of the structure of the language well taken; but many of the further consequences which he would fain draw from his study of it betray not a little of fanciful exaggeration. Not to dwell upon other points, we are at a loss to see how the Santal "points to the north-east" as the home of the aborigines of India. The Sanskrit does, indeed, point to the north-west as starting-point of Aryan immigration; but this "pointing" consists in the evidence afforded by a mass of historical documents running back almost to the time of entrance into the country, and by a well-understood and firmly established affiliation of languages. What beside vague surmises, on the other hand, is to be drawn from the obscure legends of a collection of barbarous tribes, occupying a limited region of India, and not yet proved connected with any of the more widely-spread races, either on the north or on the south? We heartily wish, moreover, that Mr. Hunter had spared us those worthless comparisons of Santal with Indo-European roots, from which he ventures to conjecture an ultimate relationship between the two classes. These, however, are comparatively unimportant blemishes in a work that we read with continual enjoyment and profit.

What remains of the volume is devoted to a series of sketches illustrative of the Company's career as sovereign authority of the land, and its gradual conversion from tax-gatherer to real governor and administrator of justice. Among the principal topics treated are the currency, the land-rent, the rural police, and the manufacturing interest. The pages are replete with instruction. The next volume, we are told, will discuss the rights and legal status of the various classes owning or cultivating the soil. Perhaps it may not prove interesting to so wide a public as the present one, but it will undoubtedly contain a vast deal of curious information, having the most direct bearing on the welfare of the Indian population. The question of tenure and rent of the soil is the one which has most taxed the learning and wisdom of the country's masters, and as yet with no very satisfactory result.

#### FISH-FARMING.\*

EVERY lover of the craft of Izaak Walton should thank the author of this book, for he teaches how the depopulated brooks and streams may be made alive again with the graceful tribes that

—sporting with swift glance  
Show to the sun their waved coats drop't with gold."

It makes the mountain-streams ripple and gurgle again in the ear of the city-pent angler, and leafy shadows struggling with the sunshine fall upon his soul as it goes back lovingly to long summer days of delicious idleness or to the golden light of October suns. And even those of our readers who Gallo-like care for none of these things, and choose rather to enter into the labors of others, may learn from these pages the happy certainty of salmon and shad swarming in the markets as well as in their native waters, and contending with each other for the honor of a place at their tables. And oysters, too, may feel the beneficent influences of a more careful culture, and, multiplied in number, improved in virtues, every excellence developed which

\* "The Annals of Rural Bengal. By W. W. Hunter. . . . of the Bengal Civil Service." Second edition. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 8vo. pp. xvi., 475.

\* "American Fish-Culture; embracing all the details of Artificial Breeding and Rearing of Trout, etc. By Thaddeus Norris, author of the 'American Angler's Book.' Illustrated." Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1868.

commends them to the love and admiration of mankind, gratefully expand their valves, eager for their metamorphosis into human nature. The dwellers in the greater rivers and in the lakes, too, are all susceptible of the advantages of a judicious early training, and the delicate white-fish and Otsego bass (which, however, is not a bass) and their lovely companions may be increased and multiplied almost indefinitely, and induced to take up their abode in waters that now know them not and to smoke upon tables yet ignorant of their charms.

The art of increasing the propagation of fish by artificial means was for a long time a lost art to modern Europe. But it is by no means a new invention. Those exasperating Chinese, who claim to have discovered all our inventions centuries before we thought of them, of course have known all about it these thousands of years, as well as about gunpowder, printing, and the mariner's compass. The early Romans also practised it, though it seems to have gone into disuse, oddly enough, in the later days of luxury, when the passion for fish almost amounted to a vice. In the middle ages, though there was no artificial propagation, fish were protected during the spawning season by severe penal laws, and it was once even a capital offence in Scotland to catch a young salmon. And still on the Continent the police care for the safety of the fish as well as of the lieges, so important a political as well as an economical matter is the abundance of food—it being impossible, according to Cobbett, to make "a fellow with a full belly" a rebel. Some attempts were made in the last century, and in this, in the direction of fish-hatching, but with no enduring results. It is to a simple fisherman of La Bresse, on the banks of "the blue Moselle," while it yet lingers in its native France, that the world will owe the miraculous draught which it is yet to have. This fisherman, Joseph Rémy by name, associating himself with another, of the name of Antoine Géhin, were guided by their personal observation of the ways of the fish with whom they lived in daily converse into the same line of experiments, without having ever heard of them, which the philosophers of France and Germany had been trying, and with a success which had not attended the wisdom of the wise. The French Government at once saw the importance of the discovery, and instituted a commission charged with stocking the rivers of France with fish. And—a circumstance which might well astonish Red-tapedom and the Circumlocution Office—they placed these two peasants at the head of it, having first decorated the former with the Legion of Honor, for the preposterous reason that they knew more about the matter than anybody else! "They manage these things better in" England. There, a cabinet minister, a noble lord, and a right honorable privy-councillor would have led the enquiry with becoming dignity, if not with answerable success.

The process is this: The female and male fishes are taken out of the water and the spawn gently squeezed by hand from the former and the milt from the latter, into a vessel containing water of the proper temperature, and then gently mixed together. If the natural conditions are observed, the discovery of which we owe practically to Rémy, the eggs are thus vivified and in due time hatched. The infant fish are then protected against all assaults of their enemies during their nonage, and they are not turned loose into the rough world of waters until they are supposed to be able to take care of themselves. How many valuable lives may thus be saved we may judge from the calculation of Sund, a Swedish naturalist, founded on observation, that one hundred mullets produce four millions of young fish! Still a care more than parental has to watch over the tender infancy of these interesting nurslings. Their nurseries have to be contrived and conducted with a scientific care which might well be emulated by the breeders of young human fry. Nothing but the purest element and the wisest diet is allowed in them, and warmth and all other conditions essential to the rearing of young creatures are most carefully studied. And due attention must also be bestowed on the moral character of his infant charge by whoever undertakes that delicate office. For it is a painful fact that such is the natural depravity of a young salmon or shad that he will not hesitate to devour a younger brother that comes in his way, if he feels a good healthy appetite and is the stronger of the two. He has no more notion of fair play than a bullying sophomore when he hazes a freshman. This immoral propensity is guarded against by keeping their pupils as much as possible of a size, and also by observing Cobbett's rule as to rebels, and keeping their bellies full of meat of a less profligate description. The rising generation, thus brought up in the way they should go, when arrived at salmon's or shad's estate, and prepared to encounter the perils and temptations of finny life, are dismissed into the world by their careful tutor with his blessing, in the faith that in due time they will, in common gratitude, return to indemnify him for the pains bestowed on their nurture and education.

The bearings of pisciculture on political and domestic economy are most important. We have seen no recent calculations as to the annual value of

the fish crop of France. But ten or a dozen years ago it was put down at \$1,200,000, and it was estimated that in a few years it would amount to \$180,000,000! We do not imagine that the profits can have come up to this figure as yet, but there can be no doubt that they have been very great, and that the diet of the poorer class has been very favorably affected by this cheap addition to it. The careful cultivation of the waters of the sea and the lakes and the rivers that replenish them, will certainly now become an industry remunerative beyond all past experience in this country, and physiologically and psychologically we believe that a larger admixture of lenten fare in the dietary of our too carnivorous countrymen will be for the advantage of both their bodies and their souls. And then we shall be able to exchange ichthyologic favors with Europe. There can be no reason why the impregnated ova of the most illustrious of the inhabitants of the Eastern waters should not be brought to these Western shores. The imperial turbot and the royal carp and the ministerial whitebait shall not disdain our republican coast, and mullets and lampreys and soles shall yet adorn first our seas and afterward our tables. The magic art of a Delmonico shall not be long invoked to conjure a *filet de sole* out of a halibut; nor yet to compel that same honorable fish to put on the fraudulent disguise of a *turbot à la crème*. That great man shall not lack authentic materials for his admirable works, nor be forced to resort to his dazzling spells to cheat the eye with bleary illusion and give it false presentations.

In every point of view, therefore, public and private, we rejoice at the attention which has been drawn to this most important industry, and that so many States have taken measures to promote it. It gave us the sincerest pleasure to learn from a foot-note to page 22 of Mr. Norris's book that Mr. Seymour is warmly and actively interested in the good work of multiplying the fishes that haunt our sea-coasts. He may rest assured that it is a more useful and honorable occupation than the artificial propagation of voters in our sea-ports. We congratulate him on his ceasing to fish in the muddy waters of politics, and on his exchanging his dealings with the loose fish that swarm therein for transactions with creatures so much more valuable and cleanly. If anything could increase the satisfaction with which we have seen the cheerful zeal of the American people in excusing him from the public service he so much dreaded, it would be the knowledge that that would have withdrawn him from a pursuit so innocent and laudable. We conclude our discourse by again commending this treatise of Mr. Norris to our readers, and advising such of them as live in the neighborhood of river, pond, or brook to lay his instructions to heart and reduce them to practice according to their opportunity.

#### MAGAZINES FOR FEBRUARY.

THE February *Putnam's* begins with a chatty and agreeable article on "The Ass in Life and Letters," by Mr. Tuckerman. The ass is the quadruped so designated, and there seems to be an unsuspected amount of literature on the subject, with which the writer shows a wide acquaintance and out of which he has made an agreeable article of the familiar, discursive order. "A New *Œdipus*" is by Mr. Leonard Kip, a story-teller with whom *Lippincott's*, we think, first brought the public acquainted, and who is having average success in telling that sort of marvellous story which imposes on no one, being addressed not to the imagination but to the judgment, which refuses credulity. It is a better line, however—or it is one in which the reader accepts a less successful tale more willingly—than that of the mock-realistic tales which are in fashion and which have about them nothing so agreeable as even ingenuity somewhat wasted, and which never achieve the higher results of the story-telling art. Late in the day, but not so late that we have forgotten its spirited beginning, comes the continuation of a September article, "In the Saddle—On the Plains," by Mr. F. W. Gedney. Perhaps the best thing in the number is "Substance and Shadow," a carefully finished "phantasy" by Mr. Eugene Benson—a writer who would be oftener to be praised if he would always, as here, confine himself to what he can do. His artistic feeling seems to be strong, and the expression of it naturally allows a sort of warmth of coloring and a proper vagueness of meaning which are out of place when the things of reason are dealt with. "Substance and Shadow" is restrained in wording and general manner, shows some fancy, and contains as its best portion some well-depicted landscape-painting. The catastrophe, however, is without much impressiveness, as may be permissible in phantasies—even when they are intended to have beauty and impressiveness—and is rather unfortunately suggestive of a certain young prince in a popular poem. "A Sermon at Notre-Dame," with one strong situation, is weak and, so to speak, causeless; and "To-day" is of a sort to account for Mr. Kimball's periodical droppings out of public recollection. A sensible and well-done hortatory and dehortatory



essay on "Men's Rights" is by Mrs. Harding Davis, and is profitable above nine-tenths of the "woman question" instruction and reproof. The miscellaneous articles at the end of the magazine are also good in comparison with what they have been hitherto. Before taking leave of the magazine we should mention "The Gallows in America," a humanitarian essay which, with a little more care, might also have been made a sociological essay of value to the general reader. We know pretty well about the horrors of hanging; though it is well enough, too, to have the bungling cruelty of hangmen, as they are, brought forcibly to the public perception; but it is the business of the anti-hanging party—and that is a party that everybody nowadays would belong to if he could—to show by actual statistics, carefully collected and handled, and of intrinsic weight, that we are less or as little murdered when we cease to put murderers to death. The quotations of murderers' dying speeches, to the effect that the hanging seemed to them horrible, the horror itself with which it inspires Mr. Stedman, show it to be, as yet, the most effective of usable punishments, to the imagination of the individual, at any rate. As we have said, it is the business of statistics to bring us to a final judgment as to what is society's best means of self-preservation against murderers. Meantime, while the figures are getting together, it is proper for Mr. Stedman to reflect whether he himself, say, would or would not commit murder, or be more likely to commit murder, in case the death penalty were not inflicted for that crime. We trust to his candor for an affirmative answer to the question, and feel justified in our wish that he had tabulated the returns on this subject from hanging and non-hanging countries. And on further consideration we feel inclined, and indeed impelled, to withdraw anything we have said that may be taken to mean that we approve of touching appeals to the prevalent sociological weakness of the day—the humanitarian feeling which at times seems to be softening the fibre of modern humanity more than is very well. Ways of punishing crimes are subjects for a pretty purely scientific consideration. The religion of love, to which knock-down appeal is made on these occasions, was, sure enough, meant for the regeneration of the individual man, for operation on the individual, rather than for direct application to the social machine.

"Probably you have a patronizing pity for him," Mr. Benson says in the *Atlantic* of "Baudelaire, Poet of the Malign," "and think he was weak." "No man would have more quickly resented your pity, for his pride was colossal; and as for his weakness, I cannot recall a writer whose thought or feeling has seemed to me so strong." Let us hope that it only "has seemed," and seems so no longer. That is to say, so far as the poet's thoughts are concerned. He is not spoken of as a thinking person in any sense in which all people of rather more than ordinary ability are not also so spoken of. His feelings were strong enough undeniably, and he took a diseased pleasure in the intellectual contemplation of the evil in sensuous things, being essentially a creature of the senses, which at the last turned and rent him. But what a school-girl's conception of "strength" is that which attributes it to the weakness of pride, and contempt, and license—makes a hero of an unhappy slave to the passions of the flesh, and the images raised from voluptuousness of mind and from hatred of himself. We have seen nothing that our essayist has written which is more to be reprehended than this exhibition of his tendency to confound the immoral with that unmoral which, as an artist, he may be supposed to have a special belief in. The matter becomes serious when the confusion is too complete and too long continued, the immoral being false-ness and feebleness in the case of the artist as much as of other men and women.

"Our Postal Deficiencies" is an article that ought to be widely read. Particularly we advise all, legislators or laymen, who have been listening to what the telegraph companies have been saying in their presidents' speeches and in some of the papers, to take a careful look at the figures of Mr. Derby's very readable and useful little essay. There remains but little doubt in the minds of any one who has looked into the matter at all that the telegraph ought to be, and can profitably be, in the hands of the Government, as the post-office business is. Mr. Derby sums up the latest European information on this subject, and on various other subjects connected with our postal arrangements, and will surprise those who are ignorant of the system in vogue in foreign countries, notably in Great Britain, by what he tells of post-office insurance, post-office banks of deposit, and cheap postal telegraphing.

Professor Elliot, in an article on "The New Education"—which is not, in his opinion, to be looked on as hostile to the old or as superseding it—treats with his accustomed force and pointedness—which once in a while is what may be called sharpness—of the scientific schools of the country. Of his theory we hope to speak on another occasion; of the rest of his paper we may say here that it is a full comparative survey of the numerous schools

with their various courses of teaching, and is of especial value to instructors.

We do not know that there is much else to be said of the February *Atlantic*. "Malbone" is very thin; there is an occasional witticism that is rather small but not bad, and an occasional more or less faded, or rather washed-out, shred of poetry or poeticalness; but there seems to be nothing to come to, and little by the way. "Comparative Housekeeping" is a little in the clouds in this set of chapters, but is spirited; "Love in Mount Lebanon" is slight but lively, and rather entertaining; "Proud Music of the Sea-shore" is an almost meaningless roar of sound from Mr. Whitman; "The Door-Step" is a clever and very pleasant little scrap of verse, by Mr. Stedman. "Ritualism in England" is uninteresting, as is all talk about Ritualism which does not bring the reader to the real point—which is the question whether a preacher is or is not a mysterious and awful priest. We observe in more than one Ritualist writer a disposition to shirk meeting the issue, while others of them—and perhaps most, but we doubt it—are bold enough, and candid. The article before us gives the new school the praise, which ought not to be refused it, of doing more to awaken the religious sentiment in the English lowest classes than all other English religious communities put together; and surely any lightening of the heathen darkness of that class, though it were with a profusion of candles and not much besides, is a thing to rejoice over. The "Tribute of a Loving Friend to a Noble Woman" is by Mrs. Stowe, and relates to the late Duchess of Sutherland, the Duke of Sutherland, the vast estates of that noble family, and its manner of life.

The *Galaxy* has no very noticeable paper this month, if we except three chapters of Mrs. Edwards's Susan Fielding, which we have not begun to read yet, having been born too late—to borrow a reason—or too early; there was a time when novels in instalments were odious to novel-readers, and the serial was an experiment. And there may be such a time again; but certainly it is not now, when novel-readers either actually prefer their novels bit by bit, or else are so fond of them that they must have novel all the time, and devour it even though they can get but scanty mouthfuls. Our own appetite lets us wait in patience till after the chapters have made such a book as they can. Theatre-goers will be glad to read Mr. C. W. Elliott's account of Miss Charlotte Cushman's early history, which was full of brave struggles, it seems. It is necessary, we suppose, that there should be a tone of exaggeration, or rather one-sidedness, in such accounts; they are like the grave-yard literature, devoted to the good qualities of the subject. But Mr. Elliott was hardly proposing to himself a criticism of Miss Cushman's acting. Professor Draper writes about the adulterations of our New York coffee, and the story he has to tell is anything but agreeable. However, everybody has his remedy in his own hands; whoever can afford to drink coffee can afford his own roaster and coffee-mill. Mr. Parke Godwin, of the *Evening Post*, is the "*New York Journalist*" who is brought up for examination in this month's *Galaxy*. We are not sure, we may say, that "original minds are not found among journalists." It begins to be time, if this is so, to insist on Mr. Emerson's view of minds. He does not know, he says, that he wouldn't say—if he were a writer for the press he would know he would say—that in proportion as a man is a true genius he is not a strictly unoriginal mind. On this view of the matter we may, perhaps, accept the further statement that "an original leading article would send confusion among newspaper-readers." That would, however, depend on what originality is. "Queen Victoria and Her Subjects" is a good contribution by Mr. Justin McCarthy, takes an extreme liberal view of the British crown and the aristocracy, and prophesies republicanism for England. Holding the doctrine, however, that "an uninspired prophet is a fool," he is wisely silent as to the time of the change, which, perhaps, looks a little nearer from this side of the water than from the other. That it is to be seen in the distance is not, we imagine, to be disputed; and, too, it is worth while remembering that the English literature, periodical and other, that we read is the writing of the decorous classes, who say something less than they think on such topics. The "*Galaxy Miscellany*," "*Driftwood*," the department of "*Literature and Art*," and the "*Nebulae*" are well-varied and interesting light reading.

*Hours at Home* opens with an article by Professor Noah Porter, who is to write a series of which this paper is the second, on "Books and Reading." They will, no doubt, contain some sound general remarks on reading, the goodness of good reading and the badness of bad; but Professor Porter, like many other men of ability, does not seem a good literary critic. A man should tell a young reader a great many good things if he is going to compensate him for being told that Bulwer is a genius. It is with Shakespeare, we believe, that Professor Porter names the novel-writer. We marked some other such indications as we read along. "Sevastopol in!

May, 1855," begins very well indeed as a story, though it reads a little stiffly in places as a translation; but it promises to be interesting in itself, and certainly will interest those who wish to make the acquaintance of Tolstoi. "The Fountains of Syria" and Professor Fisher's "Glimpses of Old Authors" are two other articles that will be read with pleasure.

In *Lippincott's*, "Beyond the Breakers," Mr. Robert Dale Owen's American novel, goes on, or, rather, it stands still. The author is evidently an unpractised novel-writer. In this instalment he introduces us to a woman who has nothing to do with the story, for the mere purpose of letting us see her die, which she does at too great length, and not very well in other respects. Perhaps, though, the author of "Footfalls on the Boundaries of Another World" was led astray by the incident of the presentiment, and brought in the lady on that account. These, however, are liberties with his readers and his characters which the novelist takes at his great peril. "Mr. Thackeray" is not very bad criticism; portions of it are, indeed, very good, and all of it is well written. But the writer seems to have failed to conceive of Thackeray as he no doubt really was—very much of a sentimentalist, namely; as fond of gushing, if only he could have let himself do it, and of all sorts of soft things and fine things, as any boy or girl. The cynicism, so called, was mostly sentimentalism reversed. We do not say that underneath both there was not something a little more real than either. The critic having made a fundamental error of this kind, is, of course, often wrong in special judgments, as Thackeray put into his men so much of himself. The "Secret Agent in Foreign Parts" continues to be published without acknowledgment of the writer's indebtedness to Griswold's memoirs.

*Harper's* contains more about the "Chivalrous and Semi-chivalrous Southrons;" and four more chapters of Mr. Justin McCarthy's pleasant story, "My Enemy's Daughter," which has a good deal of a certain sort of freshness. These are, perhaps, the best of the contents of the February number. The rest of it is in part made up of a sketchy and amusing illustrated paper entitled a "Sleigh-ride through Russia;" of an illustrated paper on "Zanzibar," by a lady who visited that little known region and seems to have used her eyes well; of various short pieces of various degrees of readability; and of the four editorial departments. Thoreau, Mr. Curtis speaks of this month; and our old friend T. T., the art critic; and the propriety of buying good copies of good pictures, instead of buying poor originals; and, of course, there is "Easy Chair" talk about Christmas.

The *Catholic World* is pretty much all controversial this month, and of no interest to the general reader.

#### CURRENT GERMAN LITERATURE.

THERE is a strong tendency among Rationalistic writers in France and Germany to treat Christianity as an outgrowth of Essenism, and to regard Jesus himself as a peculiarly spiritual-minded member of that sect, differing from his brethren only in his broader sympathies, higher aims, and richer intellectual endowments. A few years ago Dulk published, at Stuttgart, a drama of formidable dimensions in which the life of "Jesus der Christ" was delineated entirely from this stand-point. And now Fr. Clemens gives us what claims to be a critical and historical work in which "Jesus the Nazarene" is portrayed in the same light. The volume begins with a *Forrede* of fourteen pages explaining the scope of the book, a general introduction and three chapters on the "Character and Tendencies of the Jewish Priesthood," the "Political Situation of the Jews at the time of Jesus," and "Further Political Relations of the Jews during the Childhood of Jesus," before it comes to the real theme as described by the title-page. Herr Clemens is the author of several other works of a similar tendency, such as "Manifest der Vernunft," "Friedensschluss zwischen Vernunft und Christenthum," "Dass Allbuch, eine Bibel," etc. He writes in a clear, earnest, and vigorous style, that leaves no doubt as to what he means, and his narrative is often naïve even to irreverence.

"Administration, Law, and Legal Procedure, State-Administration and Self-Administration in England and Germany,"† is a work by Dr. Rudolf Gneist, Professor of Law at the University of Berlin, one of the chief German authorities on the subject of the English Constitution and English Law. He has previously published a work on "English Administrative Law," and another on "The Constitution of English Communes." The present work compares the correspondent methods, laws, and institutions of England and Germany—especially Prussia. It is divided into two main sections,

entitled "The Foundations of the English State," and "Law, Administration, Self-Government, etc.," with the following chapters: Foreign Affairs; War; Admiralty; Exchequer; Home Affairs; Board of Works, Health and Poor-Law Board; Board of Trade; Administration of Justice; State Church and Dissenters; Education and the Professions; The Colonial and Indian Offices. The author's aim is obviously rather practical than scientific, though he follows it in a scientific way. He wishes to point out to his countrymen, by the light of English experience, the path they will have to pursue if they are to realize the liberty of action and movement, both in private and national matters, after which they are yearning. With true practical insight, he calls attention to the fact that the freedom of the individual subject depends primarily on the laws regulating the administration of affairs. A people which has the administration of its affairs in its own hands, or which, by its representatives, exerts a direct control over that administration, is in a very full sense free, even though the constitution of the state may be very defective; whereas the very best constitution, *theoretically*, is no guarantee of real liberty—nay, is almost an instrument of despotism—so long as there is no self-government in detail. It is needless to say that that state is, as far as this goes, the highest in which constitution and administration go harmoniously and completely hand in hand. Ultimately, however, all depends on having good men in the right places. The great defect under which the German States labor is, that there is so little connection between the constitution and the administration. In a theoretical point of view, the Prussian constitution and the constitution of the North German Confederation may be very good; both contain provisions which closely resemble some of the best in America and England; but the control over those who have to carry out these provisions is in the hands of bureaucrats—bureaucrats either in principle or in practice, or both. In other words, a good constitution on paper does not ensure good institutions in life. We might adduce numberless illustrations of the futility of good constitutional provisions, so long as the administration is in the hands of men who are, *taken as a whole*, only responsible to each other—that is, irresponsible—if space permitted. A careful study of Dr. Gneist's book will give the reader a good notion of the inner politics of Prussia, and throw considerable light on various problems remaining to be solved both in America and England.

The first volume of "The Politics and Politicians of German Austria at the Time of the French Invasion" appeared in 1862, and was at once recognized as a valuable contribution to the history of Germany, and indeed of Europe too. The second volume,\* the author, a son of the celebrated bookseller, Perthes, and Professor of Law at the University of Bonn, did not live to publish himself; but his manuscripts were found in so complete and forward a state that his friends, the Professors Springer and Mendelssohn, felt no hesitation in printing them almost as they found them. After briefly describing the state of the various provinces of Austria and their relation to each other under Charles VI.—that is, from 1711 to 1740—in the first book, he narrates, in the second and third books, the efforts put forth by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. to introduce reforms of government, improvements in agriculture and trade, and a better condition of things in church and school. The fourth book discusses Austria's relation to the German Empire; the fifth and last delineates the political leaders and parties in Austria at the time of the wars of Napoleon. The facts, anecdotes, conversations, and sayings given, especially in the last chapter, are very characteristic, and make it very piquant reading.

The author of "The History of French Calvinism"† is one of the notabilities of the university town of Halle—Major von Polenz, an old Saxon officer, who fought in the wars of Napoleon, along with the rest of his countrymen, on the French side. He is well known to many American and British students who have attended the University of Halle, drawn by the great names of Tholuck, Müller, Hupfeld, and so forth. Two or three years ago the degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred on him, by, we believe, the University of Breslau, in consideration of that part of his history which had then appeared—a mark of respect very rarely displayed towards a layman. A major who is also a D.D. is a *rara avis* in Germany. The volume before us is the fifth of the entire work, and narrates the history of the political Calvinism of France from the death of Henry IV., in 1610, to the Edict of Nîmes, in 1629. We entertain the unpalatable opinion that very few Germans are capable of really *understanding* the history of Calvinism. Major Dr. von Polenz is, however, we

\* "Jesus der Nazarener. Des Weisesten der Weisen Leben, Lehre und natürliches Ende. Von Fr. Clemens." Hamburg, 18mo, pp. 281.

† "Verwaltung, Justiz, Rechtsweg, Staatsverwaltung und Selbstverwaltung, nach englischen und deutschen Verhältnissen, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Verwaltungs-reformen und Kreisordnungen in Preussen. Von Dr. R. Gneist." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1860.

\* "Politische Zustände und Personen in den deutschen Ländern des Hauses Oesterreich von Carl VI. bis Metternich. Von Prof. C. T. Perthes." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1869.

† "Geschichte des französischen Calvinismus bis zur Nationalversammlung in 1789. Zum Theil aus handschriftlichen Quellen. Von Gottlob von Polenz." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1860.



believe, an exception. One reason of our belief is a remark he makes to the following effect: "The words of Merle d'Aubigné, 'C'est Edimbourg qui est maintenant la métropole de la Réforme,' have worked in me and produced this point, that I now find the old genuine Calvinism in English and American Puritanism," a remark whose full significance those only can appreciate who know how most German theological writers shrug their shoulders at, in particular, American Christianity. Other reasons are too personal to be here alluded to. Major von Polenz's style is heavy, and the entire work, when complete, will be almost too large; but it is written in a manly, fair, and Christian spirit. We heartily wish that the now aged, almost decrepit author may live to accomplish this literary task of his life.

The name of Droysen, the celebrated Berlin Professor of History, is in itself almost a sufficient guarantee of the worth of the latest German translation of Aristophanes.\* Critical opinion has stamped it as one of the best, if not the very best, German translation in existence. This is the second edition. The volume before us contains the "Acharnians," "The Knights," "The Clouds," "The Wasps," "Peace." To each play is prefixed a careful introduction, giving an account of the circumstances under which it was written and acted—a kind of key to its characters and fun.

The study of the Zend language,† the language of the Avesta, or, as it is without sufficient reason often termed, the Ancient Bactrian, is only thirty-five years old. It would, therefore, seem almost presumptuous, as Professor Haug himself hints, to talk about a Zend Philology, especially as the only known book in the language is the so-called "Zend-Avesta." But owing to the close affinity between the Zend and the great Indo-Germanic family of languages, particularly the Sanskrit, the term is not so improper as would at first sight seem. Still very much remains to be done, notwithstanding the fruitful labors of a Rask, a Burouff, an Anquetil Duperron, a Spiegel, and others, German, French, and English. Dr. Haug, now professor at Munich, was formerly Professor of Sanskrit in India, where his "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees" excited great attention, both among the Parsees and the English. The present pamphlet—for it is not much more as to compass—is mainly a critical examination of a "Lexicon of the Zend Language" published by Ferdinand Justi, which comes in for many terrible and apparently richly-deserved blows. It is also a contribution to the explanation of the "Avesta."

The new book, "Germany and Europe in the Light of Universal History,"‡ written by the learned and able Berlin general superintendent and court preacher, Dr. W. Hoffmann, is a supplement to his "Germany, Formerly and at Present, in the Light of the Kingdom of God." He styles it a reserved chapter; but it is rather a long one, seeing that it extends over 253 pages. The design of the former work was, in brief, to show that the mission for and in Germany originally entrusted to the House of Hapsburg, and then offered at the Reformation to Saxony, has been gradually transferred to Prussia, with its head and creator, the House of Hohenzollern—a transference which culminated in Bohemia in 1866. Its supplement is essentially a glorification of the mission of Germany in Europe and the world. Much that is advanced is true, for the intellectual influence of Germany has been and is mighty. But many things are simply absurd. The author's description of the Anglo-Saxon element of the United States, for example, is highly colored, and we are sure our readers will smile, if not laugh, when we tell them that Dr. Hoffmann looks forward to the time when the Western States, having become predominantly German, will be stirred up by the course of events in the Fatherland to establish a separate monarchical state; and that the German element is to purge out the ecclesiastical disorders and eccentricities of the Anglo-Saxon, or rather, as he terms it, *Anglo-Indian* element. Deducting these and other mistaken speculations and descriptions, the work will be found suggestive, instructive, and interesting. Its ten sections are headed, The Work of Europe in Universal History; Spain and Portugal; Italy and Germany; France and Germany; England and Germany; Germanic States (Holland, etc.); Russia and Germany; the Oriental Question; Beyond the Seas (America, etc.); Germany in its European Work.

An edition of the collected works of the celebrated Kant is now being issued in Leipzig; and to accommodate such as do not wish to take the

whole, the *Critique*\* is offered separately. When we say that the volume is admirably printed on excellent paper, under the superintendence of a reliable editor, we have said enough to attract to it the attention of intending readers of this great philosophical work.

What used to be more contemptible than a fiddler? And here—"The Violin and its Masters"†—we have a history of fiddles and fiddlers in all countries, and from the earliest times down to the present day. Some persons find mention of the fiddle in the Old Testament; others trace its existence to a period prior to the Christian era; but there seems little reason for doubting that the violin proper was first invented early in the sixteenth century in Italy. The author of this work has the violinist's usual opinion of the instrument. He says: "For two centuries it has reigned without a rival in the domain of instrumental music." One thing is certain, that no other instrument is so capable as the violin of incorporation (as it were) with its player, and of thus becoming a direct medium for the expression of the soul's musical feelings and sentiments. In its pliability, and in the immediateness of its relation to the mind and heart of the musical performer, it stands next to the human voice itself. The work fills up a gap.

*Outlines of Physiology, Human and Comparative.* By John Marshall, F.R.S., Professor of Surgery in University College, London. With additions by Francis G. Smith, M.D., Professor of Institutes of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1868.)—In no department of knowledge has greater progress been made during the past twenty years than in physiology. The use of the microscope and direct experiments upon the lower animals, and sometimes upon the living man himself, made possible by the advance of organic chemistry and other collateral sciences, have thrown a flood of light upon the mysteries of life—have brought within the domain of pure science processes which before were only explicable by what was called, in our real ignorance of its nature, vital force. In this progress our own countrymen have borne a worthy part, and many of the recent demonstrations which have passed into the general fund of physiological fact are due to their labors. No one, of whatever profession, who desires to keep himself informed concerning the general advance of science, can fail to be interested in what is now known of the functions of the human body, as illuminated by modern researches; and the treatise of John Marshall brings the whole subject, as it stands in 1868, before the reader in as intelligible a form as can well be given it. In original research and the addition of new facts and experiments, it is surpassed by others of recent date; but in the presentation of the subject it is original, and its method is strikingly useful to the unprofessional reader. In making this remark we would by no means imply that any effort is made to bring the subject down to popular apprehension at the expense of scientific accuracy and completeness. This is not the case. But the view of physiology proper, complete and comprehensive in itself, is illustrated and made far more telling by the side-lights of kindred and collateral science. Incidental remarks upon descriptive anatomy, the anatomy of tissues, and comparative anatomy and physiology, organic chemistry, physics, and the relations of man with external nature, and a general breadth of treatment, add greatly to the value and interest of the book.

*The Spectator.* With Introductory Notes and Index. By Henry Morley. (London and New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons.)—It is as true to-day as it ever was that nobody can do without the *Spectator*. There is still no better quiet humor than Addison's; the essential thing in him is not a whit diminished in value, but weighs as much as it did two centuries and a half ago. Even the losses that as critic and moralist he has undergone by reason of the world's growth since 1711, have been in good part made up for, as is apt to be the case with the second and third rate immortals, by the new element of interest which his work has acquired in becoming "a map of busy life" for times that possess for us the charm of remoteness. And it has acquired, too, a value which, of course, it could not have at birth, as representing better than any other work a certain marked period in the history of the literature of our tongue. But putting aside considerations of this kind, there is, as we have said, sufficient reason for the *Spectator's* continued life and fame in the fact that for quiet, kindly humor it must still be said to be not yet surpassed, when at its best, by anything in English; and that is something like saying that it never will be surpassed. We doubt, indeed, if it has not more admirers to-day—more in proportion to the whole number of its readers—than it has ever had before since the time when it first appeared. It was

\* "Des Aristophanes Werke, übersetzt von Joh. S. Droysen." Second edition. Vol. I. London and Berlin: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1869.

† "Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Zendphilologie mit besonderer Rücksicht auf F. Justi's sogenanntes alt-baktrisches Wörterbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Zendavesta. Von Dr. M. Haug." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1868.

‡ "Deutschland und Europa im Lichte der Weltgeschichte. Von Dr. W. Hoffmann." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1869.

\* "I. Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft. Herausgegeben von S. Hartenstein." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1869.

† "Die Violine und ihre Meister, von Jos. Wihl. v. Wasidewski." Berlin and London: Asher & Co.; New York: Steiger. 1869.

then read by many who did not at all "taste" it, as they used to say in those days, but read it for its gossip, its cheaper satire, its criticisms, and so on. Afterwards it was put into reading-books and into the hands of youth, who were ordered to like it at a time of life when the sense of humor is not developed, and who learned to look on it as a low deep of wearisomeness. In our times, on the other hand, men generally come to its perusal with their eyes purged by a succession of criticisms to an easy perception of its merits; and memories of school-boy yawnings do not now deter. Moreover, it could be proved, we dare say, to be highly probable that the number of people with a sense of humor is now much larger than it used to be, and that year by year it is happily increasing.

This edition of Mr. Morley's is, then, opportune; it merits a great deal of praise. The editor's introduction is full, acute, and suggestive in its literary and critical remarks, and very readable. In all Mr. Morley writes there is a simplicity of manner that is very attractive. But perhaps a little more might as well have been said of the displeasing side of the character of the editor's two heroes. To be sure, the genesis of the *Spectator* is what Mr. Morley is undertaking to give; and further, to convey some idea of the world into which the paper was born, and of the work which it was intended to do. But Mr. Morley does not wholly confine himself to this; he narrates the lives of the two men pretty fully. What we are disposed to find some fault with him for is that he suppresses some facts, which being suppressed, the ignorant reader gets a rather better opinion of the men than the true one.

We think, too, that it is a mistake for our author to give Steele so much of the credit for the success of the *Spectator*, unless he means its success as a publication, at the time when it was published. Steele was doubtless a better editor than his more gifted friend; but for the *Spectator's* continuing success no doubt we are to give most credit to Addison.

Mr. Morley in this edition reprints the work exactly as its authors left it; that is to say, it contains the revisions of the original folios that were made when the first book edition appeared, and also those which Steele made just before his death. These revisions are enclosed in brackets that their extent may be seen. The reader thus has what may be called the two original texts of the *Spectator*, with the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the authors' day. The volume contains good notes, not too numerous; a full enough index; a table giving translations of the mottoes; and a curious and interesting appendix, consisting of a selection from the advertisements that appeared in the paper from day to day. Many of them, we regret to say, were advertisements of cosmetics; and the moralizing Mr. Spectator's ladies of quality, like his Cato, had their bane and antidote both before them at their tea-table.

On the whole, this edition of the most classic of "British classics" we should call the best that we know of, if it were not for the fact that, in order to make it cheap, Messrs. Routledge & Sons have put it into a single small volume of some 950 pages of thin though good paper, and have been compelled to use fine type, which we will not take it on ourselves to recommend. The same edition, in three or four volumes of larger print, would be admirable. This is admirable for persons who, while very poor in money, are very well off in eyesight; and it is a very handy reference *Spectator* for anybody.

*A Fourteen Weeks' Course in Astronomy.* By J. Dorman Steele, A.M., Principal of Elmira Free Academy, author of "A Fourteen Weeks' Course in Chemistry." (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.)—As an elementary textbook in astronomy this book deserves favorable notice. The subject is presented in an attractive form, and the author has evidently endeavored to adapt his explanations of the phenomena of astronomy to the under-

standing of the students whom he is addressing. The book certainly has the merit of simplicity, and the treatment of many of the subjects is both novel and ingenious; but in some instances there has been a sacrifice of truth for the sake of an apparent simplicity. In text-books for beginners the error is frequently, and sometimes intentionally, made of substituting for the full demonstration of a difficult problem an apparently easy solution, which is really unsound, but which is so presented that the fallacy escapes the notice of the young reader. The book before us is not entirely free from this defect. Thus, in referring to the cause of precession, the author says: "We have noticed the sun as producing precession; the moon has, however, treble its influence; for, although the moon's mass is not one-twenty-millionth part that of the sun, yet she is 400 times nearer, and her attraction is correspondingly greater." As the attraction varies inversely as the square of the distance, the attraction of the moon upon the earth is evidently less than one-hundredth part that of the sun. The cause of precession is the unequal attraction at the centre and surface of the earth; and this difference is greater in the moon's force than in the sun's. The same error occurs again in the comparison of the lunar and solar tides.

In explaining the apparent retrograde motion of an inferior planet, the author represents the planet as having retrograded through an entire sign, by placing, in the diagram, the zodiac sufficiently near the solar system—thus diverting the attention of the student from the important principle that apparent motion among the stars is a change in the apparent direction alone, and that an apparent change of place upon a background comparatively near might not exist when referred to the distant celestial sphere of the stars.

Notwithstanding these defects, the book is one of the best we have seen for beginners. The logical arrangement of subjects, the classification of the definitions belonging to the celestial sphere, as the horizon system, the equinoctial system, and the ecliptic system, the chapter on the spectro-scope, and the allusion to the discoveries already made by this wonderful instrument, are all valuable features. The announcement on the title-page that the author had also prepared a work on chemistry did not prepossess us in his favor; but the present work is certainly an exception to the safe general rule, that a series of text-books on different scientific subjects by one author may be expected to be of low quality.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Winer (Dr. G. B.), Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, Seventh ed.....	(W. F. Draper) 5 00
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